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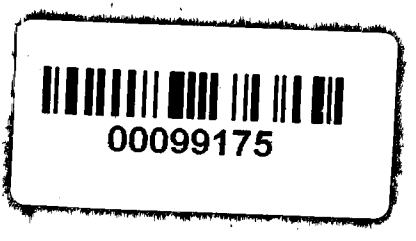
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ENGLAND AND THE ENGLISH

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By

DR. CARL PETERS

AUTHOR OF

"New Light on Dark Africa,"
"The Eldorado of the Ancients,"
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PREFACE.

THIS is a book of exploration. I have looked at England and her inhabitants as I have looked at the countries of the Massais and the Makalanga, and I have tried to communicate the results of my observations as objectively and vividly as any explorations on African expeditions.

My knowledge of England and the English is based on personal observations extending over a period of more than ten years. The reader of the following sketch, therefore, may expect to find a picture of this nation, as it appears in the brain of a critical foreign observer.

I am fond of the subject of this book. The more I have come to know about the English in Europe and over-sea, the better I like their national character and manners. This, of course, does not exclude legitimate criticism. On the contrary. Where is light there is shade, and it would be more than narrow-minded to assume that England alone were an exception to this general law of nature. However, as the reader will perceive, I am fully aware of the great national qualities which lie at the bottom of the wonderful rise of the Anglo-Saxon race and their present predominating position on our planet.

To my personal observations I have added critical notes necessary to understand the national economy and politics, as well as the history of Great Britain and Ireland. I have not tired the reader with continuous quotations of my sources and authorities. But I may mention that I have used the best available statistical publications: The last official Census, the Statesman's Year Book for 1904, the Shipping World for 1904, the Daily Mail Year Book for 1904, and others. For other material I am indebted to Herr Kaiser, of the Tariff Reform Committee, and Mr. J. Francis Taylor, of the Primrose League.

Of Greater Britain I know personally, besides most of the British colonies in Africa, the Dominion of Canada and East India.

It was unavoidable that this research should here and there touch upon questions which are subjects of practical political strife in this country. I hope, however, my readers will find that this is done on broad and general lines, and with that reserve which becomes an observer of a foreign nation.

CARL PETERS.

LONDON, *November*, 1904.

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ENGLAND AND THE ENGLISH.

CHAPTER I.

THE COUNTRY.

LANDING at Dover or at Queenborough, the traveller's first impression of England is a very poor one. Long, bare, grey sheds represent the railway stations; a dirty platform leads to the trains waiting in readiness to set out for the different London termini. But first of all the hand-baggage must be examined. An ugly scramble, a shoving of trunks and hand-bags—at last you espy your own particular porter standing in front of a long counter, behind which a couple of customs officials, going leisurely from one piece of luggage to another, attend to this preliminary search. When you

arrive at Charing Cross or Victoria the thing begins anew: the heavy pieces of luggage are opened there. This division of the customs examination into two halves is a double loss of time, and, from the first moment that the stranger treads on English soil, his attention is called to the fact that he has landed in a country whose greatness is hardly due to its powers of organisation. How unfavourably this does compare with the business-like manner in which our luggage was handled on the German frontier, at Cöln or at Herbesthal!

Throughout the United Kingdom a similar impression is produced by the entire railway system. One must not look for Prussian punctuality here. To my knowledge, not once during the ten years that I have spent in England, have I ever been in a train that arrived punctually, and only on rare occasions, in one that started to the minute.

The railway companies would act honestly, if, instead of positive statements as to the arrival and departure of their trains, they would insert in their time-tables "not before" let us say 10.41 p.m. Then,

the ordinary railway train has none of the comforts of our expresses. The carriages are old-fashioned and not corridor carriages; there are no lavatories. The reason for this is, no doubt, to be found in the short distances to be transversed between the coast towns and London. For, on the great inland trains, the arrangements can hold their own with any continental *train-de-luxe*. However, once started the thing is splendid. The English railways are the fastest in the world, and, thanks to the broader gauge and the more numerous sleepers, they run much more gently and smoothly than those of the Continent. The incessant whistling of locomotives which, especially in Belgium, makes travelling a torture, is here missing, as well as the shouts of the officials that resound through the stations in Germany on the arrival and departure of trains.

In English railway-termini the trains are not called out; instead, the times of their departure and their various destinations are announced on large blackboards erected on the platforms. This puzzles the stranger at first; but, once used to it, he appreciates

the absence of noise, bustle and confusion. Another very practical arrangement is, that the name of the station is not only painted up on both points of entry and in the middle of the platform, but also on every seat and on every lamp. I wonder that practical Germany does not adopt this method generally.

One may say that, taking all in all, the railway management in England is more slovenly than with us. One feels none of the so-called "Prussian smartness" here, and the traveller is aware of this from the first moment he sets foot in the country. Railway stations as clean and well-managed as, for instance, those of Cologne, Hanover, Berlin, or Frankfurt-on-the-Main, are not to be found in the whole of England. In this direction Germany at once is far ahead. To be sure, we have to pay dearly for our order and punctuality with the complete subordination of the individual to the regulations imposed by the State, from which the Englishman is completely free. As this difference will always occur to us in every department of national life in

England, and as it is typical of the contrast between Germany and Great Britain, it seems meet that here, right at the outset, it should be briefly explained.

What we call "the State" is quite non-existent in England or, if it exists at all, simply as a very loose organisation. And especially the "Prussian State" with its all-embracing organisation is completely foreign to the Anglo-Saxon nature. The reason for this is to be found primarily in the inherent character of the nation; for the greater part, however, in England's historical development.

The idea that the individual exists for the State and that the State must administer the whole, absolutely and without question, is foreign to the Germanic character, which, rather, favours the right of the individual and his free development from below upwards.

Now in England, just this Germanic idea of communal freedom, which with us has succumbed to State rule, has been preserved throughout every epoch of her history. While on the Continent, where

standing armies became a necessity and invested the ruler with a deciding voice in the State, the so-called "liberties" everywhere succumbed in the fight between the crown and the people; in England, freed by her insular position from the necessity of maintaining a standing army, the people successfully opposed the Crown. Here the monarchy had in the end to submit to the principles of the old Germanic constitution related by Tacitus. This is the historical significance of the great revolutions of the seventeenth century, wherein the House of Stuart succumbed to the House of Commons. Oliver Cromwell is thus the real founder of the whole of modern England, speaking in a political as well as in a social sense.

But all this will be dealt with later; for the moment, I must not keep my reader, who wishes to take a look at the English landscape, waiting any longer on the draughty and bleak platform at Dover station. Let us therefore step into our train and commence the journey to London.

As soon as we have pierced the chalk-

cliffs of Dover, we enter the green and hilly landscape of Kent—the garden of England. Here we see a typical English landscape; extensive, flat-topped ranges of hills rise before us, covered with a carpet of deepest green; little clumps of trees cling to the slopes; in the valleys are brooks, or ditches and ponds. Herds of magnificent cattle graze in the fields, and flocks of fat sheep, or, perhaps, graceful horses are at play in the rich meadows, galloping away at the approach of the roaring train. We fly past villages and little towns or, now and again, past country seats surrounded by extensive parks. In these parks the elm and the chestnut are the species of trees most commonly represented, whilst the oak, the lime, and beech tree are not unknown. The avenues are frequently formed of broad-leafed planes; the woods are small plantations of beech.

The landscape grows especially charming near Tunbridge Wells and Sevenoaks, where the hilly formation is more marked.

The meadows and parks are every now and again interrupted by extensive hop-fields and wide orchards; here and there

a field of wheat or barley meets the eye. Agriculture, however, is quite secondary to grazing land.

Another characteristic peculiarity of these English landscapes is the wealth of evergreen trees and hedgerows. Everywhere one sees pines and cypresses, reminding one of Italy. Towns and villages are surrounded by hedges of yew, juniper and holly, just as the houses and trees are covered with ivy, virginia, and other creepers. Add to this that winter and summer the grass is almost of the same colour, and that, throughout the year, the cattle are driven into the open. Thus the sharp contrast of winter and summer disappears here, and England, judged by its flora, must in certain respects be placed with the subtropical regions of the earth.

The characteristics of Kent are continued in Surrey, Sussex, and the whole of the south as far as Hampshire; only that in Surrey the oak is the most pronounced type of tree. Great forests are rare on this island; still, the New Forest in Hampshire, Epping Forest near London, and the forests of Yorkshire are extensive enough to recall similar con-

ditions in Germany. The Midland counties round Leicester are flat and resemble more the Dutch landscapes, in that here also green pasturage outweighs every other class of land.

If one goes more westwards to Cornwall or Wales, the scenery grows more grotesque, and here and there develops into a fantastic alpine landscape. In Yorkshire, and especially in the Scottish highlands with their deeply indented "lochs," we have a pronounced pendant to the fjords of Norway. The most monotonous part is, probably, the east coast round Harwich, Yarmouth and Newcastle. For all that, the rich and green park-like landscape is predominant here as well.

From end to end the English country is superbly charming. I do not know Japan, and I have been told that it is even prettier than England; but of all the countries known to me personally, as far as daintiness and charm are concerned, the palm is borne by verdant Great Britain and her western sister, Ireland.

It is true that Germany possesses spots

more magnificent and unsurpassed in beauty of scenery. Who is not drawn again and again to the German Rhine, to the beech-crowned heights of the Harz and Thuringia, or to the dark glades of the Black Forest? Italy has its picturesque magic; Switzerland and the Tyrol have their majestic grandeur; but the pearl among the countries of Europe is still the sea-encircled Albion, with its proud chalk cliffs, its rich meadows, and picturesque parks. As ugly as are the English towns, as magically beautiful is the countryside from one end of the island to the other.

For, what—Scotland and Wales excepted—this laughing and evergreen landscape may lack in magnificence, is made up for by the ocean which encircles this island country and cuts deep into the land on every side. It has been calculated that in the United Kingdom, in a region of about 120,725 square miles, no point exists which is more than 45 miles distant from the sea. And how beautiful are these proud coast-lines! Like a dazzling dream Albion lies there with its shining chalk cliffs, when seen rising

from the North Sea or the Channel in the sunlight. This impression was brought home to me with special depth while making a longish stay in Boulogne, where I, standing on about the same spot whence Cæsar started on his celebrated expedition to Britain, used to look across to the proud mistress of the seas. It was towards the end of August, and, as appears customary at that time of the year, nature revelled in the streaming sunlight. Before me the deep blue sea, and beyond it, to the north, like an apparition from the spirit world, the shining chalk cliffs of Folkestone and Dover.

But these coasts are beautiful alike, when we have them under our feet. What can be more delightful than a walking tour from Herne Bay, over Margate, Ramsgate, Dover, Folkestone, to Hastings, Eastbourne, and further to the west? For miles and miles the cliffs fall steeply to the water's edge where the sea breaks against the coast. Leftwards the broad expanse of ocean is ever before our eyes, changing with every change of light, into all the indescribable shades of colour that only the brush of a Turner or

Böcklin could reproduce. To the right are green meadows, small picturesque reaches of woodland, grazing cattle and horses, and prosperous villages and towns! Thus we wander uphill and downhill, through the strongest, healthiest air imaginable. The road from Castellamare to Sorrento is certainly more beautiful, just because the Mediterranean is richer in light and colour; but the character of the English coast is precisely the same.

Such a walking tour round the coast of England should be made about Whitsuntide or in September, and, when one has gone as far as Southampton, one should cross over to Cowes and take a rest on the charming Isle of Wight where, under the picturesque cliffs of Ventnor, one can almost enjoy the climate of Madeira. Towards the south-west the Bay of Ventnor opens into the Channel and, like a large screen, receives the mild airs and the mass of warmth which the Gulf Stream, year in year out, bears across the Atlantic to the coasts of Great Britain.

It is to this Gulf Stream that the British Isles owe their peculiar climate, and with

it their, in part, sub-tropical flora. It is the cause of the fogs which are the dread of visitors to these islands; but, at the same time, to it must be ascribed the fact that snow and ice are a rarity in England and Ireland; that winter and summer the fields are green, and that the cattle can remain out-of-doors throughout the year. To this pasturage England owes the delicate flavour of her beef and mutton, the freshness of her milk and butter, which, even in the winter months, preserves the aroma of our "May-butter." I have always had the intention to calculate how much, in horse-power, England owes to the warmth that is brought to her by the Gulf Stream, together with the value of this asset in ringing metal. England is rich through her coal-fields and her iron, and this wealth receives clear expression in her position in the world's economy. The treasure which nature bestows every year on this fortunate country by means of the Gulf Stream, receives less attention and is more difficult to calculate; and yet, in national economic importance, it surely is of equal value to her mineral wealth. In every house-

hold, in the dress of every single individual, in the raising of cattle and so on, its presence is felt, although for the most part unrecognised; and if London possesses in January the average temperature of Taormina in Sicily, the reason for this also is to be found in the Atlantic current which carries the warmth of the Gulf of Mexico to our northern world, and more particularly enfolds the British Isles in its soft embraces.

In spite of these natural advantages, many people, most people in fact, would not prefer the English climate to ours. It is too dark and too damp for that; too little sunshine falls on Great Britain. Often for weeks the sky remains overcast, and this exercises a depressing influence on the spirit, even apart from the notorious fogs, which, especially in November and February, make life a positive torture, forcing us to spend even the daytime in artificially lighted rooms, dislocating the traffic in the streets, and oppressing the lungs and the mucous membranes of the throat like a suffocating dust. The English climate is a purely oceanic one. One lives here as on a ship anchored at sea, exposed to every

change of wind from all quarters; and although in general—seven to eight months of the year—we are sheltered by the soft influence of the Gulf Stream, we are, on the other hand, not far from the Arctic world of the north, and for more than four months of the year the polar currents have the upper hand, taking the form of east winds, which, as a rule, set in about the end of February and last till late in May. Only a strong race can thrive in so raw a climate, especially dangerous to consumptives, and causing gout and deafness.

One point will have been made clear to my readers by this short survey of the geographical character of Great Britain: namely, that all the conditions from which an energetic national life might develop were provided here in abundance. The soil is fruitful and rich, and is an actual invitation to engage in agriculture, and especially in cattle-rearing. No wonder that it tempted agricultural peoples to venture on its conquest. Throughout centuries, then, agriculture was the chief occupation of its inhabitants. At the same time, the natural position

of the country pointed to the sea as the second great source of nourishment. From remote times the sea fisheries, which now supply the tables of the people with a daily catch representing a value of about £50,000, have contributed largely to the pots and pans of the inhabitants of Britain. And where nature points to the sea, she also leads overseas. With fishing, seafaring is naturally combined. When agricultural peoples, living on the shores of the oceans, find their native land too narrow, owing to an increasing population and increasing necessities, then they are drawn overseas in search of new agricultural countries. The sea-girt native land sends the spirit wandering into space and distance, and thus arise the great colonising peoples of the earth. This was the case with the Phœnicians, Portuguese, and Dutch; nowhere, however, were the natural conditions for such a development so clearly marked as in sea-encircled, verdant Britain.

Thus, from the outset, the historical formation of England was dictated by the physical circumstances of the country, and,

to produce the mistress of the seas, it was only necessary for the germs, themselves formed by nature, further organically to develop. In this respect Britain confirms the theory of Karl Ritter, according to whom the historical development of the nations arises, to a certain extent, organically out of the physical nature of their countries.

Italy, in the centre of the Mediterranean, was the natural van-power in the Thalassa epoch of Europe which, in the main, unfolded itself around the Italian coasts. Great Britain, however, lies on the shores of the ocean itself. Thus its great development could only begin when the discovery of America and the Cape route to the East Indies directed the attention and the enterprise of Europe across the oceans. Towards the end of the sixteenth century, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, therefore, the history of the British Empire begins. It belongs essentially to the oceanic era of civilisation, and viewed by its economic and political principles, it is entirely modern.

CHAPTER II.

LONDON AND THE THAMES.

LONDON is one of the oldest cities of Europe. Its origin, like those of Rome and Paris, goes back to a grey antiquity. Actually a landing place for ships, which could be fortified against sea-rovers, must have existed from remote ages at Tower Hill, the first eminence of any importance on the left bank of the Lower Thames when one approaches the river from the sea. Cæsar does not mention the town, but Tacitus speaks of it as an old settlement. The derivation of the name is uncertain. There is a legendary King Lud, said to have resided here, and after whom Ludgate Hill is also called. Perhaps Lud was a Celtic title, similar to Brennus. The Anglo-Saxons

called the town Londenburg or Londonvic. But all this does not interest us here.

Of supreme importance for the history and significance of London is the fact that it lies at a point of the Thames where the influence of the North Sea tides is still fully felt. Even at low ebb its depth is sufficient for the greatest liners, and it can also utilise the incoming tide to the full for ships passing up river. Twelve hours a day the Thames flows past the town stream-upwards. In this London differs so favourably as a harbour from, *e.g.*, Hamburg and Bremen, which were built to meet the shipping conditions prevailing during the middle-ages, and have not enough water for modern sea-traffic. Both lie too far up stream, but London, on the other hand, will continue to be a harbour of the first order through all times.

This gives it its fundamental character, and fits it to be the capital of the most extensive sea-power known to history. Only very incidentally London is the residence of the English Kings and the seat of the British Parliament. It is, first and foremost,

the centre of the gigantic trade which links the Anglo-Saxon world in every zone of our planet. Its second peculiarity is due to the leading trait in the national character of the English, to whom everything stereotyped is hateful. London has not been built arbitrarily, as, for instance, Berlin or St. Petersburg, or Paris as well, but it is of natural growth. It bears the stamp of a natural development, with all its advantages and all its faults. Among German towns, Hamburg and not Berlin resembles it most. If one were to imagine that Hamburg covered ten times its present area, that the Hohenzollerns and the German Reichstag had their headquarters in this greatest of German seaports, one would then about get an idea of what is meant by London.

Highly original and strange is the impression made on the continental visitor, who, coming from Dover or Queenborough, approaches this giant city. The train is still flying through a green and parklike country, but ever and ever closer together lie the places past which it hurries; more

and more numerous become the well-kept country-seats which the eye discerns from the carriage-window. Suddenly we come to rows of small straight streets, both sides of which are hemmed in by plain one-storied houses, each one exactly like the next. Every house has a tiny back-garden and often an even tinier piece of ground in front. Then, again come open spaces fenced with wooden boards: building plots, timber depôts, etc. From all directions railway-lines converge, on which trains or unattached locomotives go to and fro in a direction opposite to the one towards which we are hurrying. Soon we rise to the level of the roofs and now look down on street after street; the train thunders over viaducts—we pass little stations. We are in London. Now we are past the working-class quarters with their tasteless single houses and are flying through a confusion of black factories and warehouses. We approach the Thames. The river, with its lively array of shipping, meets our gaze. North of it the eye discovers the outlines of St. Paul's Cathedral

and Westminster Abbey, known to us from photographs. The train stops on Grosvenor Bridge; our tickets are collected. Up and down stream we see the proud arches of one mighty bridge after another. Then we begin to move anew, to run, one or two minutes later, under the dirty grey dome-shaped roof of Victoria Station. In all probability there is no other great city presenting itself to the traveller so lacking of charm, so absolutely ugly even, as London, from whatever side one may approach it.

But, like many a genuine thing, it improves on closer acquaintance. Here nothing is done for the sake of mere display; everything serves some practical end. The separate house system, which is carried as far as the working-men's dwellings, is not conducive to the development of a great architecture—even though Berlin with its tenement-barracks receives a certain touch of, perhaps, shabby grandeur from the same source; but, for all that, these tiny houses are comfortable, and the money that is saved on ornamentation is spent on internal con-

venience. These little houses have, as a rule, two living rooms, one on a level with the street, the so-called dining-room, and another on the first floor, the parlour or drawing-room. The kitchen is in the basement. Two bedrooms next to or opposite the living-rooms, and two further rooms, in the so-called "attic," below the roof, complete the arrangement. Every house has also its lavatory on the ground floor or first storey, and coal cellar in the basement. The whole is small, but even this little house is the "castle" of its tenant, in which he is master and can do exactly as he pleases. Herein lies the chief charm of this system.

Naturally these miniature dwellings are confined to the extreme suburbs, especially in the south-east and south of London. The actual town is essentially different in its building arrangements. First of all we come to the west-central part with its two great arteries, the Strand and Oxford Street, leading from the City to the West End. This quarter is chiefly filled with shops, houses from four to six stories high, which do

not lie in a rigidly straight line like those of Berlin, but in a natural, soft serpentine line, which without question is considerably more pleasing to the eye. Of late years the London County Council is making considerable efforts towards the widening of all these streets in the old part of the town. Recently, in addition, the American system of sky-scrapers has found its way to London, hardly adding to the beauty of the town. But even in such mammoth buildings the principle of the separate house, which has become a necessity to the Englishman, is strictly observed. Each one is divided into a number of strictly separated "flats" or floors, in which the tenant is again the "master" with all the rights provided by law. For instance the door of the flat has the same legal significance as that of a house, which no policeman is allowed to open when it is closed.

Such "Mansions" with separate flats are of late years coming more and more into vogue. Everywhere in the West End, and in the suburbs as well, they are springing up; from those containing two rooms with

bath room, to flats of five, eight, or more rooms, with or without kitchens and servants' rooms. The most important are Queen Anne's Mansions with twelve storeys, overlooking St. James's Park, in the City of Westminster, possessing 300 flats with about 1,000 rooms. I personally live in Buckingham Gate Gardens not far off, in a house with 35 flats. In the basement are kitchens from which all those who like can order their meals.

The most aristocratic quarter of the town is the "City of Westminster," with Belgravia, Mayfair and St. James's Street.

Here the royal palaces round St. James's Park are situated: Whitehall, the home of the Stuarts; St. James's Palace, the residence of Queen Elizabeth; and Buckingham Palace, where King Edward resides. If one stands on the bridge which crosses the lake in St. James's Park one has a view of all three, and a finer town-view is unobtainable in the whole wide world.

In Westminster also rise, directly on the bank of the Thames, the splendid Houses of Parliament, built in the Gothic style,

with their striking belfry, "Big Ben." The best known streets of this quarter are Piccadilly and Pall Mall, which lead through "clubland," and Park Lane, the villa-street of the South African millionaires, running on the east side of Hyde Park and uniting Oxford Street and Piccadilly. Another thoroughfare, parallel further east, between Piccadilly and Oxford Circus, is Regent Street, with its splendid shops; and about half-way between Regent Street and Park Lane, cutting straight through Mayfair, comes Bond Street, where jewels and diamonds from every quarter of the globe are displayed in the shop-windows.

Westward of this fashionable quarter of London spreads Kensington, alongside of Hyde Park, Kensington Gardens and Holland Park, with the immense dome of the Albert Hall and the Imperial Institute as its centre. This quarter is, in modern London, the one that reminds one most of continental cities—of Berlin, for instance. Here long, wide, and mathematically straight streets predominate; such as for instance, the elegant Cromwell Road, which is consider-

ably wider than the Friedrichstrasse and just as long.

North of Oxford Street, round the splendid Regent's Park, extend whole villa-quarters of the city, especially St. John's Wood and Hampstead, where artists and scholars, as well as prosperous City men, not yet ripe for Mayfair and Belgravia, love to dwell. Here, towards the north, the banks of the Thames rise to veritable heights and are consequently less exposed to fogs, and generally healthier.

The villa character of London also extends along the river, westwards over Chelsea, as far as Kew and Richmond.

Whilst thus the East and the West of the town form sharp contrasts, a second and equally great contrast between North and South London is produced by the Thames.

The town proper is situated on the northern bank of the river; the south, centering round Waterloo Station, is poor and considerably dirtier. The two banks, from Kew downstream as far as the magnificent Tower Bridge, are spanned by 25 bridges.

But so summary a review can give the

reader no clear picture of a gigantic city like London. Were one to describe a circle round Ludgate Hill with a radius of 15 miles, one would about enclose the space which modern London—the so-called "Greater London"—occupies; and this space is inhabited by about seven million people.

The administrative district of the County of London comprises 117 square miles, with 29 municipal districts of larger or smaller size. This area was inhabited in 1901 by 4,536,541 people, occupying 616,461 houses, and all types of streets, places and houses from palace to cottage, from the elegant park down to the narrow and dirty lane, are represented in it. Likewise, all nations of the world have their representatives in this chaotic crowd. Especially numerous are the German, French and Russian colonies, but Italians and Greeks, too, supply a strong contingent. Besides, there are Swedes and Norwegians, Dutch, Spaniards and Portuguese, Indians, Persians, Turks, Japanese and Chinese. In short, all races and all nations of our planet are to be found in London. For all that, however, London

remains a typically English city—such is the assimilating power of this race! But who is there who would presume, to paint in simple colours a picture of this cosmopolitan bee hive!

Let us turn, therefore, one by one, to the characteristic features of this animated scene.

The London *street scene* is extremely full of life. Berlin and Paris are relatively dead cities when compared with this unceasingly moving life. The streets of the German capital, as the Leipziger and Friedrich-strasse, Unter den Linden, Potsdamer and Breitestrasse, etc., are, indeed, animated from morning until evening; but the passenger traffic moves mostly on the side-walks, and the uniform tinkling of the electric trams gives a very monotonous impression. In London, too, the footpaths of the main streets are densely crowded, but there is the vehicular traffic endlessly rolling on as well. In the West End the roadway is crammed with private carriages, hansoms and buses, while in the centre and in the City the omnibus and the hansom preponderate. Of late there has been added to them, in

constantly increasing proportions, the motor car, which begins to be a characteristic feature of London street and park life.

London coachmen are all excellent drivers —a fact which is particularly striking to new arrivals from Berlin, with its unwieldy cab traffic. The two-wheeled hansom, with its driver perched upon his high seat at the back, is an easily manageable vehicle, particularly well adapted to the crowded and congested street traffic. It gives a special and original type to the street scene. A specifically English impression is also produced by the many four-in-hands, mail-coaches and brakes, which ply between the centre of the West End and the suburbs, suffusing, by their merry horn signals which herald their approach, the crowded streets with the poetry of scented wood and meadow air. As a general rule, the horses in London are distinguished from the sorry steeds of other capitals by their beauty and strength. "Screws" like those of Berlin and Hamburg are not to be seen at all. In contrast to our traffic regulations, vehicles and horsemen in London, as in the whole of the British Empire, keep to the left-

hand side of the roadway, a fact which is at first rather perplexing to foreigners.

A striking contrast to continental street traffic is furnished by the absence of all uniforms. On the other hand, the ladies, with their brilliant dresses, lend a charming variety to the scenery. In Germany the men with their uniforms contribute to the gayness of the street, while the women prefer the plainness of grey or dark costumes; but in London it is the women who wear gaily coloured dresses; whilst the gentlemen in Pall Mall and Piccadilly are also dressed with an almost exaggerated elegance, spending more time over their toilet than the busy German would consider worth his while and his dignity. That a man about town should, under all circumstances, change his dress three times a day might appear to many of us rather too much of a good thing, but that he also dons a special costume for every different kind of sport (bicycle, motor car, riding, water sports, golf, lawn tennis, etc.) seems to be altogether too bad, when bearing in mind that in many cases he indulges daily in three or more such sports.

In striking contrast to the elegance of the people in the streets appears the street dirt, which is a characteristic feature of London. The town being built upon a lime formation, no really radical remedy for this defect can be supplied by artificial means, although enormous sums are spent on street cleaning (in the City alone more than £50,000 per annum). The dust always settles again very soon. It is that dust which makes it imperative to often change one's linen while rendering hand-washing almost ineffectual. The roadways are throughout excellent. Wood-paving preponderates in the main streets or flat roads of square freestone. Of late asphalt has come much into use. All this is very modern, but not sufficient to overcome the natural difficulties. Dung and other offal are constantly being cleared away by battalions of boys in uniform, who move freely between the crowded vehicular traffic, depositing the offal in boxes specially erected for that purpose on both sides of the street. In the City alone 192 such boys are regularly employed.

Nor is the street lighting equal to that of

Berlin. Gas preponderates, and with the grey atmosphere, which mostly overhangs London, it often does not produce a proper effect. Only in some places, such as in Piccadilly Circus or on the Embankment, there is bright electric light. Quite exemplary, however, are all sanitary arrangements as lavatories for men and women, which are spread in great numbers all over the large town, mostly underground and always clean and comfortable.

I should omit one of the most remarkable features in London's street life if I did not point to the almost classical perfection of the police. The London policeman is usually tall and of fine appearance. In his dark blue uniform he does not possess the military swagger of his Berlin *confrère*, nor is his weapon a sword, but only a truncheon kept in a leather casing. He is courteous and modest to everybody, and really a marvel for the classical calmness with which he directs the enormous street traffic. He simply raises his hand and the long row of carriages comes to a stand, like the flood in the Red Sea at the passage of the Jews.

Now the traffic from the cross streets passes in front of us. Two or three minutes more and our street is open again, and the vehicles from the cross street have to wait in their turn. This continues ceaselessly from morning until evening like automatic clockwork, without noise or excitement of any kind. Assisted in his work is the London policeman by the Englishman's characteristic sense of law and order. A movement of the hand is sufficient for him, where the Berlin cabdriver requires loud and threatening words. And the London policeman is chivalrous, too, with ladies and children. Touching, indeed, is it to observe the considerateness with which he conducts some old beggar woman or little children through the crowd from one side of the street to the other.

Among the public places in London Trafalgar Square is by far the most remarkable. No doubt, with its tall, proud Nelson column and its *jeux d'eau,* faced on one side by the National Gallery and St. Martin's Church, on the other by the great hotels of Northumberland Avenue, Trafalgar Square is one of the most beautiful public places in all Europe,

if not *the* most beautiful. A characteristic feature of London are also the many squares, enclosing beautiful gardens and shrubberies, to which none but the inhabitants of the surrounding houses possess the keys.

Open to the general public, however, are the real parks of London, with a liberality of which we in Germany have no idea. The turf which in German towns is mostly only open to the gaze is here free to lie on and for games, for which purposes it is freely used by the lower classes. A Berlin friend who visited me here, when seeing the life in St. James's Park, remarked to me: a Berlin policeman when walking through London would never get out of a "hair-raising" state of mind.

Placarded there are, as a rule, only the two cautions: "Keep off the border," and "This park being public property, the public is expected to assist in protecting it."

These parks extend in the west from Westminster to Shepherd's Bush, viz.: St. James's Park, Green Park, Hyde Park, Kensington Gardens and Holland Park (the last named not open to the public). In the north extends

as the second great lobe of "London's lungs" the splendid Regent's Park, with the Zoological and Botanical Gardens, and behind it Hampstead Heath offers a recreation ground, which is very freely made use of. But there are many more such parks and commons bringing fresh air into London, viz.: Blackheath to the south-east, Battersea Park, Clapham Common, etc. London has been styled a large village; that is correct in so far as strong efforts are made to conserve the all-around rural character as much as possible. The English are passionate admirers of country life. This is shown, *inter alia*, by the strong interest they take in every alteration in the parks and street gardens. For nearly every tree that is hewn down in the Green Park, streams of ink are shed in letters to the Press.

The landscape of these parks consists of a combination of water, turf, groups of trees, and flowers. The tree plantations are marked by chestnuts, maples, ash, willows, elms, planes, oaks, birches and limes. The flower beds are artistically dispersed over the turf and the shrubberies, and the flowers are

changed according to the season. Where in February snow-drops and crocuses were shining, hyacinths, daffodils, pansies and primroses will blossom in March and April, to be followed by tulips and magnolias, until in the midst of summer we come to rhododendrons, roses and their companions.

Next to its external features the hotels and restaurants of a town have to be considered. Generally such establishments have throughout the whole civilized world the same certain international character, which, of course, is not wanting in London; but at the same time, there exists a typically English sort. The great hotels in London, such as the Cecil, Savoy, Carlton, Grand, Metropole, Victoria Hotel, etc., are scarcely distinguished from their equals in New York, Paris or Berlin; while the elegant restaurants which are generally connected with them convey a specifically London impression only by the greater elegance of their visitors. But the England of Thackeray and Dickens, with its inns and public houses, has not entirely disappeared, but continues to exist alongside of them.

It may justly be said that the real English hotel is dear and bad. The cooking is very moderate, the comfort small, the service defective. There is generally a deficiency in the politeness to which we are accustomed in Germany. Service is given almost as if it were a favour, but nevertheless the prices charged, considered from our point of view, may be called truly impudent. The public house stands in the United Kingdom and over the whole Anglo-Saxon world (North America included) in lieu of our "Kneipe." The essential difference is that in the "pub." people do not sit at tables while comfortably sipping their drinks, but gulp them down standing before a bar. The advantage of this system is that visitors do not pass the whole evening at the "pub.," standing all the time being altogether too uncomfortable for that; its drawback is that people get more quickly and more heavily intoxicated. Whilst retailing beer and wine, if required, the bars mostly sell spirits, viz.: whiskey and gin. One drink after the other is poured down, until the guest has enough and gives up his place to somebody else. If when drunk he

does not leave of his own accord, he is thrown out of the door by the "chucker-out," also called "the strong man." It is understood that a public house doing a good trade earns for its owner much larger and much quicker profits than the German "Wirthshaus," with its slower turn-over. Indeed, many of those bars are as good as gold mines. Of the better known houses, I mention the Criterion, Grand Hotel, Holborn Restaurant.

The law tries in all manner of ways to prevent excessive drinking. The most trenchant measure for English public life may be said to be the regulation providing, that all restaurants have to be closed on ordinary weekdays at 12.30 a.m., on Saturdays at midnight, and on Sundays at 11 p.m. "What," exclaims the German reader, "in a metropolis like London a rule fit only for a small provincial town!" My German friends always find it very hard to accommodate themselves to this restriction "of personal liberty." But I think, it is one of the most blissful institutions amongst the Anglo-Saxons. In New York, Chicago, and San Francisco it obtains in exactly the same manner as here,

and when once a man has become accustomed to the restraint entailed by it, he feels it as a blessing. What, indeed, has the idea of the metropolis to do with it? Why should the inhabitants of a metropolis have greater license in boozing than country people, whose nerves will generally be stronger and better adapted to stand such extravagant claims on them. The most dissipated town I know is Berlin, which might remind a foreigner of a large music hall of the lowest order. Life in the Friedrichstrasse from 3 to 4 a.m. is scarcely less animated than from 3 to 4 p.m. It might be interesting to calculate, how much nerve power is uselessly squandered night after night in the German capital. London on the Thames lies silent and deserted at one o'clock at night. Its inhabitants are asleep. Even the railway stations and all other public traffic organisations are closed; in most parts of the town it is difficult to find a cab after one o'clock or on Sundays after eleven o'clock. That is rather inconvenient now and then, but on the other hand, sallow cheeks are conspicuous by their absence; the complexion of the inhabitants of

the metropolis does not essentially differ from that of the country people, and hardly anywhere those pitiable broken-down old men are to be seen—and all that England certainly owes in the main to this wise limitation in the free use of the night hours. My countrymen often think this could not be considered desirable by the publicans. I have questioned many publicans and waiters on this matter, and all have told me they would not change the system against the German for thousands of pounds. Even a waiter is, to a certain extent, an animal being, and able to appreciate the advantages of a regular night's rest.

Foreigners who do not know England are generally under the impression, that it is devoted to a narrow-minded materialism, which leaves no place for the fine arts. "The English are materialists, entirely given up to gold-hunting." Nothing, however, is more incorrect, as I shall prove later on.

Concerning the fine arts, the saying, "Frisia non cantat" may be adapted to this Low-German race, in which Frisian blood is blended with Anglo-Saxon, Danish and Norman blood.

The English are not only unmusical, but decidedly anti-musical.

Whatever there is of light music in England originates from Ireland or from the nigger melodies of North America. But I am inclined to declare, that the English are amongst the best painters of the world. A mere walk through the great collections of London will be sufficient proof to convince anybody. Those desirous of becoming acquainted with specifically English art, will find its principal representatives at the splendid Tate Gallery opposite Vauxhall Bridge. There one finds the best opportunity of admiring the healthy, realistic, imaginative genius of the English painters combined with the loving care they devote to the detailed execution of their pictures. Especially great are the English in landscape and animal painting. The Turners, Landseers, Watts, Leightons, Millais, Davis, Sydney Coopers, John Bretts, etc., in the London galleries are second to none.

Another splendid collection is to be found at the National Gallery in Trafalgar Square

where, alongside of the great English painters, Dutch and Italians are numerously represented.

A third collection is the Wallace collection in Manchester Square.

Besides those permanent general galleries, there is a number of special exhibitions all the year round. Particular mention deserves the exhibition of the Royal Academy, which is opened every spring.

London itself is very poor in good monuments. Whatever we have here of statues is, with few exceptions, rubbish pure and simple. But London, no doubt, possesses in the British Museum the most splendid collection of sculptures in existence. The Elgin marbles from Athens, and the Egyptian and Assyrian halls make of the British Museum the most eminent treasury of antique monuments. The South Kensington Museum ranks in a certain sense as its equal, being the most important industrial museum of modern times. Besides, there are dozens of museums devoted to special scientific or technical purposes. Of those I will only mention the magnificent museum of natural

history in Cromwell Road, the geological museum, the marine museum in Greenwich, the anatomical museum of the Society of Surgeons; but any guide through London will be able to complete the list.

What I wished to prove by the preceding lines is, that London is, indeed, a focus of universal culture and civilisation, well worthy to be the capital of the British Empire.

Regarding the London theatres, too, I differ in opinion from many foreign critics who have been here on a flying visit.

The prevalent opinion is that the English theatre is of lower value than, and inferior to, that of the continental capitals. It is here, indeed, that the popular English operetta, such as performed night after night in at least a dozen London theatres, is often flat with a touch of the farcical; and it is also true, that the society drama proper is generally adapted from French originals. But I am inclined to maintain, firstly, that the English are naturally and by reason of the realism of their character excellent actors, playing as a general rule in a more natural

manner than their continental colleagues of Paris or Berlin; and secondly, that the scenic appointments of the plays here are throughout more artistic than they are in either France or Germany. The reason may chiefly be looked for in the fact that London is great and England small. A play which draws may reckon upon almost every educated Englishman as a spectator in due course of time; it is, therefore, sure of a number of performances, which for continental circumstances would be truly enormous, the number always going into several hundreds. Moreover, admission tickets are so much dearer here than with us. Stalls cost 10s. 6d., a small box 2 guineas, etc. Consequently, the proprietor of the theatre is in a position to spend a much larger amount of money on scenic equipment than his continental *confrère*.

Thus the Drury Lane and His Majesty's still maintain their place amongst the great theatres of the world, the Lyceum having lately been pulled down, and the number of good Society theatres, such as the Haymarket, Criterion, Garrick, Wyndham's, Prince

of Wales', Duke of York's, etc., is legion. Actors and actresses like Sir Henry Irving, Forbes-Robertson, Beerbohm Tree, Sir Charles Wyndham, Miss Ellen Terry, Mrs. Langtry, Mrs. Patrick Campbell, justly enjoy an international reputation, apart from many stars of the second rank.

Strange it would be, indeed, if the home of Shakespeare and Garrick no longer had a stage.

When speaking of London as an intellectual centre, I must not overlook the great number of public libraries open to the general public. First among them stands the magnificent library of the British Museum, whose giant domed hall is open to members of all nations without distinction, provided they have an introduction. This library is of altogether colossal dimensions. Even to-day I remember the surprise I felt when, at my first visit to London in 1880, I found enumerated in the catalogue all my literary works down to the production of my early manhood, essays for the university examinations, etc. The rules and regulations for using the books

are most practical and convenient. How many rising authors may there be who all their lives will remember with grateful sentiments this warm and well lighted gigantic hall, which contributed so much to a lightening of their struggles against the cold and darkness of many a winter? Beside this premier library of the universe, there are distributed over all districts of London popular libraries destined for the education of the masses. Their use is free to eyerybody in the most liberal manner.

I might indefinitely continue this enumeration of London's various characteristic features without, however, being able to produce a plain and comprehensive picture of this giant town. How could it be possible for the printed word to convey a description corresponding to this many-sided living reality, when even inhabitants, who like me have lived here for a decade, must admit that they actually do not know the whole of it. We ought never to lose sight of the fact that the English characteristics form, indeed, the real foundations of this great structure, but that upon it is erected

an international polymorphism which embraces the universe. When speaking of English restaurants we must bear in mind that, alongside of them, every other nation has its hotels in London. For instance, one may eat and drink in German fashion exactly as in Berlin or Hanover. The same in Italian, Greek, Indian, etc., manner. London is, so to say, like a big box containing within its sides all sorts of small boxes of any size. When undertaking to give a comprehensive picture of London life, all those small sub-sections would have to be considered as well. Only in that manner would it be possible to produce a clear idea of this metropolis of the world.

For my present purposes I may leave this part out of the question. It will, however, be necessary to shed a clear light on that side of London which gives to this enormous cosmopolitan complex its own particular character. London is the capital of one-fourth of the continents of our planet; it is the centre of the grandest commercial and financial system known to history, but it can be the one as well as the other only because

it is the greatest port of the world. What Hamburg would be without the Elbe and the Alster, that London would be without the Thames. The Lower Thames is about as important for London, as the Elbe is for Hamburg. It is the carrier of the world's traffic.

The Upper Thames, on the other hand, fills the part of the Alster. Along its banks are the riverside villas of the Londoners, while its course is the scene of the elegant water-sports of the metropolis. Of course, both those features, compared with our German port, present themselves in enormously increased proportions.

The embankment between Westminster and Blackfriars bridge forms, so to say, the partition between those two river halves, and, at the same time, it is the real focus of London's town picture. As the water is, generally speaking, the eye of the landscape, so the Thames, with its constantly moving traffic, carries the characteristic colouring into the features of this cosmopolitan metropolis. A broad roadway leads from the imposing Houses of Parliament, whose little

Gothic towers and oriel turrets, niches and windows are reflected in the stream, down to the Royal Hotel opposite Blackfriars. At the right hand side the pedestrian walking to the City views from a low granite parapet the lively boat traffic on the broad river. To the left, magnificent buildings form the frame of the picture, viz.: the National Liberal Club, the enormous structure of Charing Cross Station, Hotels Cecil and Savoy, Somerset House and the Temple with its lovely gardens. Before us, but half to the left, the dome of St. Paul's Cathedral towers above the picture. An avenue of broad-leaved plane-trees runs along the pretty sidewalk, and below our feet, unnoticed by us, works underground the District Railway, a generation ago an object of admiration for all strangers, but now obsolete and eclipsed like so many other institutions in the United Kingdom. In the centre of this Victoria Embankment stands the Cleopatra Needle, an obelisk which, as a "present" of Ismail Pasha, has been transported from sunny Alexandria into the opaque foggy atmosphere of London, where with the two Sphinxes at its foot it pre-

sents a wondrously strange picture amidst its sober northern surroundings.

Opposite on the south side of the river, grey warehouses border the banks. It is there where the real river traffic moves in clumsy boats. Sea-going vessels do not enter this part of the Thames; they stop further down the river below London Bridge in the docks of the Port of London, which belong to the following four companies: the London and St. Katharine, East and West India and Millwall on the northern bank, and the Surrey Commercial Docks on the southern bank of the river.

Those who wish to become acquainted with the port itself do best to procure at London Bridge a ticket for the *Koh-i-nor*, or any other pleasure steamer, and to proceed to Greenwich, and further to Woolwich, Gravesend, down to the lightship of the Nore, passing in front Southend and Queenborough at the mouth of the Thames. It is thus one obtains a vivid picture of the gigantic maritime traffic of this river. Or this may be done more comfortably still by sitting down at one of the window tables of the Ship Inn in

Greenwich, and ordering one of the famous fish dinners there. There one may, according to the in-going or out-going tide, see passing immediately before one's eyes the whole of the grandiose shipping up and down the river. All the flags of the world are represented, most numerously, of course, the Union Jack, and all types of vessels from the powerful East India liner to the small North Sea coaster and to the trawler fleet of the coast with their tarry brown sails.

At any rate, a visit to Greenwich is absolutely necessary for obtaining a knowledge of the lower Thames. There are to be found the Naval College and a number of other institutions connected with the British Navy. In the museum, Great Britain's glorious past passes before our eyes; the trophies of Nelson's victories are exhibited before us with other pictures of naval engagements. A walk through the beautiful Greenwich Park up the hill leads us to the Greenwich Observatory, from which most nations of the world count the longitudes. When standing beneath the enormous clock one feels that one stands upon one of the most important

points on the globe, equal in rank, for geographical purposes, to the two Poles.

The river, whose width near Greenwich is about one-fourth of a mile, widens as it approaches the sea. From Gravesend down it takes the character of an estuary. The banks disappear in long lines to the north as well as to the south, until near the Nore we are confronted by the rolling waves of the German Ocean. Especially beautiful and picturesque is the passage in the evenings, when the lights along the banks and along the main channel produce in the stream itself as if by enchantment truly fairy-like effects.

Quite a different scenery is encountered on the Upper Thames. While in its lower reaches the river shows in its broad magnitude a real lowland formation, it assumes in its upper parts a graceful silver line meandering in gay serpentines through undulating downs. Whoever, coming from the German Ocean, proceeds up the Thames as far as London Bridge, would never fancy how soon this immense volume of water changes into a narrow river channel, such as the Weser at Hameln, or the Main at Würzburg.

Immediately above Kew Bridge this change has been completed; the world-stream has become a graceful river, though up to Oxford it is still deep enough for an extensive steamer traffic. Lovely green hills, covered with turf, parks and gardens, form the banks along which towns and villas are spread out in graceful variety: Kew Gardens, Richmond, Teddington with Bushey Park, Kingston, Surbiton, Hampton Court, and, further up, Windsor, Maidenhead, Henley, etc.; these are the places to which the Londoners make tours and trips all the year round, in summer as well as in winter.

Kew Gardens is the most beautiful botanical garden of the world. In summer-time, with its mighty oaks, elms and lime trees, an enchanting shaded haunt; in winter-time, charming by the tropical section of its flora of pines, cypresses, hollies, as well as by its hot-houses, especially its gigantic palm-house. How beautiful it is to rest there on the soft turf, when the air is impregnated with the scent of the daffodils, or roses, and when the splendour of the magnolias and rhododendrons entrances you! How sweet it is to

dream away the leisure hours when woodpecker and blackbird, thrush, chaffinch and titmouse welcome the spring, or the cuckoo calls and the nightingale, from out of her hiding place in the dense green, thrills out her beautiful song! And further up, the beautiful river and the shaded walks under the oaks and chestnuts of Richmond Park, where hundreds of fallow-deer are playing and frollicking about! How fairy-like in its beauty is the view from Richmond Terrace all over the luxurious far-stretching Thames Valley! Truly this is landscape beauty of the very first rank, a typical inland scene with wood and meadow! And more further, the flower gardens of Hampton Court. As if an artist of genius had done the work, so harmoniously are the colours blended in all their shades. Here predominates the orange shade; there is pink blended with light grey, and there again is a bed shining in bluish hues. Each flower-bed is a perfect picture of excellent colouring, and the long row of beds resemble a beautiful gallery collected with the most refined taste.

Beyond Hampton Court, the chestnuts,

elms, limes and oak trees of Bushey Park again invite to further walks, where the lover of game may have another opportunity, as in Richmond Park, to feed the tame fallow-deer out of his hand. So it goes on up the merry river, one lovely landscape succeeded by another, past the proud pinnacles of the Royal Castle of Windsor, almost without interruption up to Oxford. Every Sunday excursions may be directed to a different place, without ever proving a disappointment.

But whoever wishes to enjoy the full charm of the Upper Thames must commit himself to its waters. Pleasure steamers connect the metropolis with the different riverside places. The best plan, however, is to proceed by rail to the chosen place, and hiring there a single sculler, a punt, or a canoe to try one's muscles in healthy exercise. It is thus one receives the very fullest impression of the lovely landscape. The whole surroundings are full of active life; everywhere there are sailing and rowing boats, steam launches and steamers, by means of which people move about the water either in parties or in pairs or singly. Along the shores of an islet dozens of boats

are moored, fastened to shady willow trees, while the occupiers are enjoying their five o'clock tea. Ashore tables are placed, and around them sit ladies in gaily coloured attire and gentlemen in light summer suits.

Then there are rows of house-boats, *i.e.*, floating houses with drawing-rooms, bedrooms, and kitchen, in which whole families have installed themselves for the summer season. To the house-boat is attached the gig, by means of which the communication with other such house-boats is maintained, and on the opposite bank a comfortable tent is pitched, behind which may be seen lawn-tennis nets and cricket grounds—those inevitable ingredients of all English outdoor life. On the roof of the house-boat comfortable easy chairs, surrounded by beautiful flowers, seem to invite you to the enjoyment of a quiet pipe and calm contemplation.

Along the banks our eyes constantly encounter the houses of the different rowing and sailing clubs, especially near Kingston and Surbiton. Water sports are passionately indulged in, and especially on Saturdays an airily-dressed crowd assembles in order to

witness the sailing and rowing regattas. The boats, densely crowded together, are full of spectators, while in the centre of the water-course the exciting tournament takes place.

Most charming and enchanting in its loveliness is the Upper Thames under the mild June or August sun, but entrancingly romantic it appears in the radiance of a full moon. Like a glittering line the soft element extends around us while the black shadows of the tree-tops, raised against the background, present a fantastic, nay, almost a demoniacal, contrast. Over the pale, mirror-like water steam vessels glide along, and out of shadowy little coves many-coloured paper lanterns are glimmering, while from the top of some tree in a neighbouring park a nightingale longingly sobs forth her passionate love-song.

Indeed, it would be difficult to find more lovely impressions anywhere else!

Thus the Thames is the background to London's multitude of houses, and no picture of the metropolis would be complete without a full account of it. Indeed, such a picture would not represent the real living

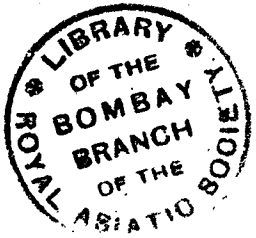
London, but only its gnarled outer shell. It is only in the mutual relations between town and river that London life, such as it really is, pulsates and palpitates. The superficial visitor who stays a few weeks in this labyrinth of bricks generally overlooks this fact, believing that he fully understands the character of this singular and original town when he has wandered through its streets, museums and theatres. The soul of London is located in the Thames, which the Englishman characteristically designates as the "river." "I have been on the river" means I have been on the (Upper) Thames. In the same manner London for him is the "town." "Going to town" signifies in the whole of England simply to go to London; or people might even say only, "going up," as against "going down," *i.e.*, going somewhere *from* London.

The picture of London which has been sketched here cannot make any pretence to completeness. But I hope I have succeeded in tracing at least the characteristic and determinating outlines in vigorous strokes. At all events, my description is based in every

single detail upon personal experience. What we have before us is the picture of a thoroughly Low-German town in all its original irregularity and its absence of all straining for effect, as well as in the solid standard qualities of the essential foundation for human comfort. Low-German is also the predominant impression caused by the physiognomy of London's street life. "Here the Low-Germans have created their centre," is what the German from the north-west feels after a few weeks' stay in London; and when he has lived here long, he completely loses all conscience of moving among a foreign race. Even the sound of the language reminds us of the sound of the "Plattdeutsch," as spoken in the fen-country along the Elbe.

The London of to-day is no longer merely the capital of Great Britain and Ireland; it is the natural centre of the Anglo-Saxon world—aye, it is its very prototype. Just as London itself does not owe its existence to any individual arbitrary power, but has organically grown out of the natural conditions and necessities of the soil, thus also the British Empire has developed, so to say,

naturally and without premeditation. To fully understand the development of London may, therefore, be considered the best way in an endeavour to comprehend the specifically Anglo-Saxon empire building genius.



CHAPTER III.

THE CITY.

THE City being topographically a part—respectively the centre—of London, it ought as such to have been included in the preceding chapter. But the position it occupies in the national life of England—nay, in the political economy of the world—is so exceptional that it deserves a chapter to itself. That the City belongs to London is, so to say, accidental; it might be situated anywhere, for, over and above its local position, it represents the mighty pump, through whose suction pipes British capitalism penetrates into every single country of our planet with the object of making the supply of labour, available there, more or less subservient to its own purposes.

It is the City of London which compels the nations to pay tribute to England in the form of dividends and interest, which, after all, have to be paid everywhere in the shape of commodities of some kind or other. It is here, therefore, where the English world-empire finds its last and most brutal expression, and it is impossible to properly understand the history of Britain's policy of expansion without a clear comprehension of the influence of the City. As far back as at the beginning of the last century Lord Castlereagh gave utterance to the significant words: "The guns of England consist in her capital." The truth of this saying has become more and more obvious in the course of the nineteenth century. Not from Downing Street, but from Lombard and Throgmorton Streets is the Anglo-Saxon world ruled; and subject to this rule are not only Britain's colonies and dependencies, but in a very large measure also the United States of North America and many another country of the world.

The City's outward appearance makes a most original impression. It occupies the

London E.C. postal district proper and stretches from the Temple and Holborn Viaduct to Whitechapel, and from the Thames up to about the Regent's Canal. This space, with an area of 638 acres and a permanent population of no more than 27,000, is filled with warehouses, offices, shops and, distributed among them, restaurants. Real dwelling-places hardly exist here at all, though the houses number 10,230, while the total length of the streets amounts to 48½ miles. During daytime about 360,000 people are crowded together in this quarter of London; during the night-time the streets are empty and deserted. Only the housekeepers or caretakers sleep in the City.

On the northern bank of the Thames, between Blackfriars and Tower bridges, immense warehouses four, five, six to eight stories high, stretch out in a long line with strangely picturesque gabled roofs, adventurous-looking cranes and dormer windows for taking in the cargoes brought there in cumbrous boats. As of special interest to Germans, I may mention among those

buildings the old Hansa warehouse, a mighty structure dating back to the flourishing times of the Hansa, when the Thames commerce was still largely in German hands. Narrow, remarkably tortuous and intricate streets, bordered by rows of houses of giddy heights, lead from the river bank up to Cannon Street, King William Street or Tower Street. Here is still the unadulterated London of Dickens' time. Thousands of cats are kept in these warehouses at the public cost as a sort of police for the hordes of rats, attracted there by the various cargoes. Several times per week these cats are fed with meat. Upon the strident cry of "Meat, meat, cat's meat!" they come from all sides out of the houses in order to receive their allowance.

Having ascended from the river bank to Cannon or King Street, one has reached the real level of the City, and finds himself in a dense crowd of vehicles and men, which at first produces an altogether bewildering and almost suffocating impression; the amount of the traffic here being certainly greater than anywhere else in the world.

From the Strand and the Embankment, through Queen Victoria Street, and from Oxford Street and Holborn, through Cheapside, the West rushes its flood of human beings into the City in an uninterrupted line of omnibuses, cabs and carriages. Through Fleet Street 71,677 pedestrians are passing every twelve hours, while the number of those who pass through Cheapside, the most frequented street, within the same time, amounts to 91,190.

Simultaneously three railway lines, the District, Metropolitan and the Electric Tube, carry on below our feet the same work of conveying people from the West to the East. Though long trains are running every three minutes, they are mostly, except those between 12 and 2 o'clock, fully occupied or even overcrowded.

The whole of the traffic is concentrated upon the Bank of England, the Mansion House and the Stock Exchange, whence Cornhill and Lombard Street, Threadneedle and Broad Streets convey the crowds further East, while Moorgate Street and Finsbury Pavement lead further North. In front of

the Mansion House, 248,015 pedestrians are passing every day, while 26,200 use the underground passage which was opened here a few years ago. The whole street net of the City is very tortuous and intricate; strange looking alleys and courts, only known to the initiated, lead across the blocks of houses from one street to another. All is crowded by business men, clerks and shopmen hurrying along, in winter generally wearing a silk hat, but in summer, often bareheaded. The street scene, say, at the corner of Cheapside, opposite the Bank of England, is certainly a curiosity of world-wide interest.

Quite as original as the streets, lanes and alleys are the offices. The real City office is uncomfortable and gloomy. Narrow stone staircases in a dimly-lit well, lead into suites of narrow, ill-furnished rooms. Two to three small rooms looking over a back-yard—that was the typical office as late as twenty years ago. But the mansion system is beginning to obtain in the City, and care is now being taken to introduce light, air and comfort. Up to the third

quarter of the last century, the old firms were actually proud of the plainness and inhospitableness of their offices; such a condition was almost considered as evidence of solidity. Light windows and mahogany furniture excited suspicion. This is evidenced in the novels of Dickens and Thackeray, who may be called the historians of the said period. For instance, in the "Tale of Two Cities," "Dombey and Son," "Newcomes," etc., City life is graphically depicted.

As the Bank of England is the natural centre of the City of London, where the street traffic culminates, so it is also the real cornerstone of London's business-life, nay, of the whole credit system of the Universe. The Bank of England is the principal institution for the issue of notes in the British Empire; in fact, it is the Bank which makes the English paper-money. It may issue fifteen million pounds sterling in notes without having the equivalent in gold, the public funds being security. For any notes issued above that amount a corresponding amount in bar-gold must be de-

posited in the cellars of the Bank. Being the Bank of the British Government, it administers the whole of the public debt. Notwithstanding that, the Bank of England is not a State bank, but, like all others, a private concern. It is managed by a Board of Directors consisting of 28 members; at their head is the Governor of the Bank, whose term of office is two years. Every week the bank-rate is fixed by the Board, and by its might, the credit-system of the City, if not the whole world, is governed. If the bank-rate is raised, money becomes scarce; if it is lowered, the activity of the money-market increases. Upon the credit of the Bank of England rests, even to-day, as on a "rocher de bronce," the stability of the money-market in all the countries of our planet.

Closely connected herewith, a banking system has been built up in the City of London, which is essentially different from the continental system, in so far as the London banks, unlike our own, are no speculative financial institutions. They do not engage in any credit operations, issue

of public loans, or company promotion, etc., but they exclusively limit their operations to receiving and to paying out the moneys of their clients; they are, therefore, essentially only deposit banks. Upon the current accounts of their clients they do not pay any interest; only upon deposits for one to three and more months 1½, 2½ and 3 per cent. is allowed. On the other hand, the banks on their part do not charge any commission. Their business consists in investing the moneys deposited with them, as far as they are not required as cash in hand, in certain strictly defined securities whose safety is beyond doubt; but they do not speculate with them. In that manner, good English banks earn yearly dividends of about 10 per cent. Very great profits are out of the question, but obviously the entire banking business obtains by such solidity a very high degree of security. The customer has to be satisfied with very small interest, or none at all, on the funds entrusted by him to his bank. But on the other hand he need not be afraid of any disagreeable surprises, such, for instance,

as awaited the clients of the Leipziger Bank a few years ago. A depositor may be sure that *under no circumstances* his deposits can be employed for purposes of speculation.

At the same time it may be said that whoever wishes to speculate, has in London more opportunities of so doing than anywhere else in the world. He has only to go to some financier, or one of the so-called financial institutions, who, forming the second class of banks, do all that class of transactions which with us is understood under the term banking business, viz.: loans, issues, company promoting, etc. There the speculative investor receives a higher rate of interest, and if he loses his money he cannot complain, having deposited his cash with open eyes. But those institutions are not allowed to call themselves "banks" or to entice people by using that confidence inspiring name as a decoy.

It must be admitted that this fundamental principle of the London banking business is extremely healthy. The whole of England's commercial intercourse rests upon it as upon

an immovable rock. The simple fact, that, whoever merely wants to have his money kept and managed for him, is offered by means of the banks a perfectly safe opportunity of doing so, protects solid fortunes against any unforeseen catastrophes. If a man wants to speculate and loses his money —well, then he has only himself to blame; but the harmless investor who only deals with loyal banks can never be defrauded.

Built up on this foundation, we have the English system of payment by cheque, which is a characteristic feature of all business dealings within the United Kingdom—even the smallest tradesman pays by cheque, *i.e.*, an order on his private bank to pay. It is mainly this system which makes business so easy and simple. The gold masses do not circulate but remain in the banks as security, and the cheques being mostly "crossed" (*i.e.*, not payable over the counter, but only from bank to bank), the precious metal does not even circulate much between the different banks, the proportions of credit and debit among the customers being on the whole pretty well equalised. What little

remains to be squared is done in the clearing-house, which is established for that purpose. Cash only changes hands for the purpose of balancing accounts. The volume of the business transacted in the London clearing-house may best be gauged by the figures of the turn-over. They were in 1900, £8,960,000,000; in 1901, £9,361,000,000; and in 1902, £10,029,000,000.

By means of this system everybody having a bank account is enabled to create his own paper money, the amount of which must not, of course, exceed his credit balance at the bank. Such a cheque often passes through many hands before it is paid in at the bank, on which it is drawn. For instance, I pay my shoemaker with a cheque; he passes it on to his baker, who, may be, pays his laundress with it. Of course, the name which foots the cheque must be known as honourable in the more or less narrow circle in which it has currency. Anyone who wishes to understand modern England must be acquainted with this state of things.

Among such solid London banks, I only

mention the London and Westminster, Lloyds, Parr's, Glyn, Mill, Currie and Co., London and South Western, London and County, Joint Stock, etc. The principal banking street in the City is Lombard Street.

The manner of doing business adopted by the English banks is extremely simple and practical. Each customer has his own pass-book, on the left side of which are entered the amounts paid in and on the right side the amounts drawn out. The left side is thus the credit side, the right one the debit side, the difference between the two representing his credit balance. Whenever he makes a request to that effect, this pass-book is handed over to him for checking the entries. In a pocket attached to the back of the book he will find all the cheques drawn by him and paid by the bank. These cheques are from time to time returned to the customer to enable him to compare them with the butt ends in his cheque-book. He is thus able to exercise an absolute control. The pass-book is bound in leather and tied with a strap. After having

gone through it, the customer puts it into a letter-box at the bank specially provided for that purpose. Other informations concerning the state of a customer's account, such as are usual in Germany, are not vouchsafed by the English banks. If I want to know the amount of my credit balance, I have to send for my pass-book and look it up. Of course, the pass-book will not be handed over to anybody except the owner or somebody acting under his authority.

In order to give my readers an idea of the volume of the banking business of the United Kingdom, I may be allowed to insert here the following official figures taken from the "Statesman's Year-book," for 1904. According to them the Bank of England issued in December, 1844, notes amounting to £28,132; in December, 1884, £35,562; in December, 1903, £45,461. In June, 1903, there were in England and Wales 67 joint-stock banks, with 4,230 branches; in Scotland 11, with 1,129 branches; and in Ireland 9, with 600 branches. In the same month there were in London 32 agencies of Colonial banks with 1,974 branch offices,

and 27 agencies of foreign banks with 532 branch offices. Among German banks special mention is due to the German Bank, the Disconto Gesellschaft and the Dresdner Bank.

All those banks which, without exception, have their chief offices in the City of London, represent the healthy and strong arterial system through which the blood of business life circulates. Its real nourishment it draws, to this day, from the trade in merchandise carried on in London. The City is, according to Mr. Chamberlain, "the great distributing centre of the world," or, as we would say, the greatest trading agency on earth.

In order to understand its importance in that respect, we must turn our eye to the shipping trade of the Port of London. According to the Year-book of the Shipping World of 1904, trans-oceanic vessels with 10,266,570 tons entered that port during 1902, while the outgoing tonnage amounted to 7,604,845; the ingoing coasting vessels carried 6,119,389 tons and the outgoing 8,062,766 tons. The total shipping registered as belonging to the Port of London con-

sists of 3,139 vessels, with a carrying capacity of 2,005,670 tons. The value of the imports of merchandise totalled £167,568,254, while the exports to other English ports represented £59,801,658, and to foreign countries and the Colonies £33,809,735, or a total of £93,611,393. The value of the goods passing through the Port of London in 1902 thus amounted to £261,179,647. Liverpool, the second greatest port of England, registered during the same year an ingoing tonnage of about nine millions and an outgoing one of slightly more than ten and a quarter millions, representing goods to the total value of £236,049,898; while Hamburg (including Cuxhaven) had an ingoing tonnage of 8,561,478, and an outgoing tonnage of 8,600,187; and in Bremen (including Bremerhaven and Vegesack), 2,389,939 tons entered and 2,424,616 tons went out.

It goes without saying that London's goods trade is not limited to merchandise entering and leaving the Port of London; on the contrary, the greater part of the goods is bought and sold on commission, without ever touching England. Cotton

from America, wool from Australia, etc., are bought and sold in London, the seller being, may be, in Philadelphia or Sydney, while the buyer resides in St. Petersburg or Vienna. Transactions of that kind are regularly concluded by auction at special exchanges in the City.

These exchanges are classed according to the goods dealt in. They are locally unconnected with one another, and among them are the Wool Exchange, Corn Exchange, Copper Exchange, Coal Exchange, Hop Exchange, Tea Exchange, etc.

It would be impossible exactly to calculate the value of the turnover effected in the City by means of these special exchanges, or the amount of the commission earned in England and remaining there. But the annual balance-sheets published by the various exchanges give some idea of it. Thus, the Wool Exchange, in Coleman Street, registers a yearly turnover of about one million bales of wool, valued at £13,000,000 to £14,000,000.

In the next chapter I shall revert to the economic questions involved in this matter.

At present it will be sufficient to point out, that, on a par with the trade in merchandise, the shipping trade and insurance business of all kinds form the chief part of the solid City business. Especially marine, fire and life insurance find their centre of gravitation in London, where this branch of business is conducted on an entirely international basis. Lloyd's underwriters are known all over the world, and have given their name to some of the largest continental shipping concerns, such as the North German and Austrian Lloyd's. As to fire insurance companies, there were in 1902 no less than 49 in London, receiving premiums to a total of £22,225,050, while paying out compensation for losses to the amount of £11,843,733. Life insurance companies there were 87 in the same year. They received £24,400,000, while paying out £18,500,000. The revenues of the marine insurance companies, of which there are, besides Lloyd's, 17 in London, amounted in 1902 to £4,274,214, and premiums paid amounted to £3,113,729. This shows the colossal scale on which all these branches of business are carried on. More-

over, there are a number of insurance companies against accidents and illness, as well as against burglary, hail, etc. The great importance of the shipping trade is evidenced by the predominating part it plays in England's political economy, the annual revenue it earns for the country being, according to the computation of Sir R. Giffin, £90,000,000. A mere walk through the streets of the City will be sufficient to convince the casual visitor, who reads the signboards, of the extent of this branch of mercantile activity in London.

All these branches of business represent productive trade, and upon them rests the first line of Great Britain's position in the political economy of the world. Those who follow these businesses represent essentially and truly the "British merchants," whose pride as citizens is on a par with that of the great Hanseatic merchants. Even to-day they are the men, who are mainly instrumental in securing for London its great name in the international business-world.

Nevertheless, these classes are not essentially those which, in the eyes of outsiders,

give to the City its characteristic stamp. Nowadays all other business branches are more and more placed in the shade by the London Stock Exchange in Throgmorton Street, which is mainly, or most prominently, in people's minds when they are speaking of the City of London. It is the great gambling house of the English people, nay, of the whole world, achieving a turnover to the value of more than £10,000,000 daily. This Stock Exchange has about 3,000 members, brokers and jobbers, and its actual turnover, in so far as it can be traced by cheques, amounts to at least £3,000,000,000 per annum, quite apart from the number of transactions not squared by cheque. How much triumph and extravagance, how much misery and despair, is represented by this sum! It is true, the foundation on which the Stock Exchange has grown up is thoroughly solid. Dealings in public and other securities or stocks are an altogether unavoidable branch of general business. But only too easily are those who engage in them drawn into the mäelstrom of speculation, and legitimate business becomes a gamble.

The London Stock Exchange has a number of special departments, among which five deserve to be more particularly noticed: they are (1) the American market; (2) the Industrial market; (3) the Kaffir market; (4) the Australian market; and (5) the Miscellaneous market. In each of these departments there are certain firms which take the lead, and exercise a more or less predominating part in fixing the prices. The profits earned by the members depend upon the degree to which the public all the world over takes a hand in the dealings on 'Change, and this degree of participation in its extreme produces either boom or slump. In this respect the Kaffir market has, for approximately the last fifteen years, played the leading part; and it was mainly to his controlling position in the Kaffir Circus that Cecil Rhodes owed his pre-eminence in the British Empire. For a boom in the City means large profits for very many thousands of people, combined with prosperity and flourishing growth for all branches of trade. The slump which, having begun in 1898, has constantly increased in

strength since the Boer war, is identical with a general decrease in prosperity, and makes its baneful influence felt, direct or indirect, in every single British household.

For, on the Stock Exchange depends the whole company-promoting world of Great Britain; and on them, in their turn, depend almost all those who own real estate, be it farms, forests, plantations, or mines. All such real estate, in order to earn profits for the owners, must be worked, and that requires capital. This is easily obtainable in boom times, but when the slump throws from Throgmorton Street its black shadow over the world, enterprise lies fallow, and the very best things remain unexploited. Then the sheep farms in Australia become desolate, and the prospector in South Africa starves; shareholders receive no dividends, or the companies break down altogether.

The English company law is extremely practical and apt to develop enterprise. In contrast to the German law it does not fix any limits to the face value of shares. Most shares in London companies are £1 shares; but there is nothing to prevent the creation

of 1s. or even of 6d. shares. It is obvious how much this division of the shares into small values must increase their mobility. Nor is it necessary, as in Germany, for the registration of a company, that its nominal capital should be either fully signed or paid in. The only thing required is that seven persons should be each the holder of one fully paid share (say of £1), and sign the memorandum and articles of association. The legislator knows that money is more easily obtainable for registered companies than for those that are still unfloated, and registration is therefore to be facilitated as much as possible. There is only one point in which the law protects the shareholder, and that is false statements as to facts. The statements contained in the prospectus must be in strict conformity with actual truth; nor is it allowed to suppress essential facts, if such suppression is apt to cause misconceptions. Any contravention of this rule is subject to penal servitude up to seven years. The same applies to all official annual reports issued by a company, and the directors are severally and jointly liable for

any pecuniary loss arising to any shareholder out of such false or unduly coloured reports. Every company registered in London is also obliged to enter every year in Somerset House a clear statement of its position, and everybody is entitled, against payment of a shilling, to take cognizance of it there. This full publicity is a further protection against swindling. This shows that the law of England does not intend to prevent anybody, including the so-called "small man," to take a share in joint-stock companies, if he is so inclined. Such a system of keeping people in leading strings is utterly repugnant to the Anglo-Saxon mode of viewing things. On the other hand, the law most efficiently protects the investor against fraud and against being induced by false pretences to take a share in a joint-stock company. It is due to this legislation that London more and more attains the position of the world's business centre.

Nearly everybody who has a "good thing" of any kind in hand, whether in Africa or Australia, in the United States or in Germany, in China or in Russia, goes first with it to

London. Consequently there is a rush of business here of which nobody on the Continent can have a proper idea. Everybody thinks, "Just go to London, there the streets are paved with money." But it is exactly because they are thus overrun from all sides that the London professional capitalists are, by natural reaction, almost instinctively inclined to refuse all overtures. As a general rule, they do not even look at the various proposals submitted to them, and a stranger without a good introduction may well deem himself lucky if he induces a serious business man to look at all at his offer.

I have been told the case of an American, who came to London to float a copper mine. He arrived on a Saturday, and had arranged to return the following Saturday. In the meantime, he hoped to finish his business. He engages rooms at the Hotel Métropole, and on Monday morning he rises at six o'clock to avoid losing any time. At seven o'clock he descends the stairs and finds the scullery maids still scrubbing the floors. He orders breakfast. But there is no breakfast before nine o'clock. At last by ten o'clock he is

ready to go to the City. He takes a cab and arrives at the office of the firm which has been recommended to him. The head of the firm has not arrived yet; in fact, on Mondays he does not come at all, being in the habit of spending his week ends from Friday to Tuesday in Brighton. Thus the first day is lost, and our friend must content himself with having a look through London.

On Tuesday, at 11 o'clock, he is again at the office. The managing partner is not there yet; will you please come back at 12?—12 o'clock. The chief is there, but he is just reading his letters. "Could you come back in half an hour?"—12.45 o'clock. "The chief is very sorry, he had a very important appointment; perhaps you would not mind coming again after lunch"—1.50 o'clock. "The chief has not yet come back from his lunch"—2.50 o'clock. "The chief has already returned home to his private residence." Our friend with the brilliant mining business begins to become desponding.

At last, perhaps on Wednesday or Thursday, he succeeds in seeing the great man. A

short interview of five minutes' duration, and he is requested to hand his plans and specifications, etc., to a clerk for examination. An appointment is made for an interview next week. He arrives, therefore, Thursday week, at 12.50 o'clock sharp, and is shown to the waiting-room.

"Mr. Smith will see you in a minute," says the office boy. After a quarter of an hour Mr. Smith appears.

"The business is not bad; but for the moment nothing can be done. The Easter holidays begin in a few days; there is nobody in the City; the market is weak; we must wait." After the holidays the unhappy mining man comes back. "The chief is still in the South of France in the Riviera; nothing can be done until he returns."

Towards the Whitsun holidays our American at the Hotel Metropole begins to lose patience. He requests an immediate decision. Then, one morning he awakes and a big letter is handed to him. It contains all his documents, with a covering note expressing regret that unfortunately the business cannot be done. Not even an author,

whose manuscript, after having made the round of all the editors, is returned to him, can feel a bitterer disappointment.

Of course, our American now tries other firms, but the result is always more or less the same. By-and-bye the history of his abortive attempts gets talked about and he becomes "stale." Nobody will listen to him, and after six or eight months he returns from where he came, with his documents in his pocket and his ore samples in his portmanteau.

This is what happens to many thousands of people every year. I myself have often been in a position to make melancholy comparisons between the faces made by fellow travellers of mine when they proceeded from South Africa to London with their "nuggets" in their pockets, bragging about and seeing everything *couleur de rose*, and their faces when they returned from the City looking like the rooster whom the fox has had in his claws.

The class of people who follow company promoting as a business are, in the City, called promoters. In times of boom they are great

men enjoying great favour—the Hooleys, the Bottomleys, the Whittaker Wrights! But in times of slump they easily come to grief, and provide occupation for the bankruptcy and criminal courts. Then the tricks of City practice in its more occult branches are drawn into daylight, and "Society" is shocked at many a great and aristocratic name being implicated in the disaster. The upas-tree, "Exchange," throws a wider shadow in the land of the British than anywhere else. Everything here is done in a colossal manner, the solid enterprise as well as the swindle. The latest great exposure of this kind was furnished by the London & Globe case, whose victim was Whittaker Wright.

There is a second and lower class of promoters in the City, who represent a very remarkable type. Such a promoter is a man who is always bragging about millions, but rarely has a sovereign in his pocket. He seizes upon the clients who have been refused by the big firms and takes their business in hand.

The aim he has in view is to obtain cash

advances from those clients themselves. In order to succeed in that, he raises fantastic hopes of splendid profits in their hearts, and is at all times prepared to offer them the most magnanimous and advantageous terms when entering into an agreement to take up their enterprises.

But there is always some obstacle in the way of performing the contract. To remove it, a small payment is required. That is how the promoter makes his living. One client after another falls a victim to his wiles. The difficulty is to prevent communication between the different clients, and cleverly to inveigle them one by one by a brilliant tissue of false pretences and illusive hopes. Now and then such promoters come into conflict with the law and are sent to gaol. But that happens seldom since, as a rule, no direct fraud can be proved. The saying is, "fools grow without watering." But generally it is not so much foolishness as inexperience which leads the victim into the promoter's net. The latter's stock-in-trade is a respectable looking office, a stately, decorous deportment, a couple of good names among his

correspondents, and clever advertising in newspapers. Most of them have some idyllic or spiritual hobby, which serves to throw dust into their victims' eyes. Either they grow flowers, or they collect antiquities, etc. That makes a confidence-inspiring impression on simpletons. I knew one of the principal frauds among them who had adopted esoteric Buddhism as his hobby, with clairvoyancy, spirit-rapping, etc. All mundane matters were of minor importance to him; he only wanted to make money in order "to do good with it." With the Mahatmas in India he stood in telepathic intercourse, but, at the same time, also with the bank-notes of those who believed in him. For him the faithful were identical with the fools.

But I shall not lose myself in details. The promoter is an unavoidable ingredient of City life, but, as we have shown, he is not its prototype. Whatever the different business branches may be, activity and energy are their predominant features. From 10 to 6 o'clock the City resembles an industrious ant heap. Even the dishonest City shark has to work hard if he wants to catch his prey.

It is full of interest to observe the physiognomies of the people in the street as they pass by. The experienced City man will know merely from their facial expression how the market is going. If the tone is strong and quotations go up, merry and animated physiognomies will be seen; if prices go down and business is slack or at a standstill, everybody has a serious and careworn look. Every single individual is dependent in his most direct interests upon the feeling of the whole market, and very often its condition is a matter of the most serious consequences. A remarkable feature is the heedless alarm generally shown by the Exchange in face of rumours or reports. The members of the "House" often seem to me to be like a brood of chickens, liable to be thrown into confusion and alarm by any silly boy who heaves a stone into their midst.

I have mentioned before, that the Stock Exchange influences the condition of trade all over Great Britain to a very high degree. The people on 'Change are, if business is good, extremely jolly and free with their money. "Light come, light go" is

their motto, and everybody profits by it, from the horse dealer and restaurant keeper to the mechanic and the flower girls in the street. In England it may be truly said, "If the jobber has money, everybody has." A large part of the money gained on 'Change gets into circulation amongst the other classes of the population by way of the race-courses, that second great gambling institution in this country, in which the whole nation from the King down to the beggar takes a hand.

A stranger who wants to become acquainted with the City in one of its most strongly-marked peculiarities, ought to be there about noon and take his lunch. The City restaurants are naturally almost exclusively day restaurants, and most of them are closed at 8 p.m. Almost the whole of their trade is done at lunch time, between the hours of 1 and 3 p.m., but during that time they are truly chock-full of customers, which is not exactly comfortable according to German notions. In many restaurants, especially those frequented by clerks, where a steak may be had for 9d. and potatoes for a penny,

the rush of customers is so great that behind our chair there is already another customer who waits for us to make room for him when we have finished. In other restaurants, as at Pimms', the guests stand, or sit on high three-legged stools, before a long bar, with their hats on their heads. Here, too, there is a constant coming and going of customers, who lunch in quickly-changing shifts. To get a whole table for oneself alone in a City restaurant is a very exceptional occurrence. Of late, large up-to-date restaurants planned to cater simultaneously for a very considerable number of guests have been built; for instance, one in Palmerston House, and others by Lyons & Co., etc. Frequently the restaurants are subterranean, several floors below each other, to which access is gained by lifts. In such cases everything is, of course, lighted by electricity.

The prices are mostly moderate, according to English notions. For a shilling one can satisfy his appetite with a fairly good meal. Payment is generally made at a desk near the entrance to the place, the waiter handing the customer his bill. Compared with Conti-

nental restaurants, the product of the sea—such as oysters, lobsters, crabs, and all sorts of sea fish—figures very largely on the bills of fare. But the real *pièce de résistance* is always the grilled steak or chop. The principal fish restaurants in the City are the various branches of Pimms' and Sweetings'.

Among other large restaurants I may mention the Guildhall Tavern, Palmerston House, Lyons & Co., City Arms, etc. German restaurants are also numerously represented. One may have meals *à l'Allemande* at Kohler's in Coleman Street (in the Wool Exchange); at the Loewenbraeu, in Gracechurch Street; at Burger's, in Cullum Street; at Goetze's, in Coleman Street, and in many other places.

The usual drinks are bitter ale and stout, whiskey and soda, or lager beer. Champagne or wine is but seldom taken. Altogether, moderation is predominant, owing to the necessity of keeping the head cool for the afternoon's work. Characteristic of the tendency of modern life is the fact that temperance restaurants, though rapidly multiplying in the City, are always overcrowded.

Slater's, Lyons' tea-shops, the A B C, offer food to the cautious mortal who has adopted the principle of not taking alcohol before his evening meal. Good food is given for little money and washed down with a glass of water or lemonade.

Side by side with them, however, the old public-house is flourishing as well. They are disseminated all over the City, and the Bodega Company, too, has many branches. Those saloons, which are devoted to the cult of Gambrinus, or where spirits are consumed, are well frequented all day long, and much important business is still transacted before the bar.

After lunch one may enjoy a cigar at a café, smoking being prohibited in the restaurants proper. Foreigners at first rather resent this custom as a discomfort, but as soon as they have become used to the better air and ventilation generally prevailing in England, they change their minds, and begin to find the specifically German "kneipe" unbearable.

From 4 p.m. street life in the City begins to ebb, and at 6 o'clock a general exodus

begins on all sides. The clerk leaves his office, and all railways, 'buses, and other conveyances are overcrowded. There is a general rush to the suburbs and to the West, whence in the morning people had hurried City-wards. The shops are closed, and soon after the restaurants follow suit. Only some of them keep open until 10 or 11 o'clock, amongst them some German beer houses, where clubs or societies hold their meetings. After 8 o'clock the casual wanderer through Cheapside or Lombard Street finds the silence of night resting over the dark rows of houses, which during daytime had been the scene of the struggle for existence in all its restlessness and greed. The feelings with which he continues his way might well resemble those which, after thousands of years, will animate the last representatives of our species upon the dying earth.

CHAPTER IV.

THE NATIONAL ECONOMY OF THE UNITED KINGDOM.

In order to understand a nation it is necessary, first of all, to know the basis of its earning power, or, in common parlance, how the people make their living. Not until we have full insight into this, are we able to understand their everyday life, their civilisation and their politics. For all sound politics rest upon the economical interests of a nation, and to serve these is their ultimate aim.

I had already several times in the last chapter, when speaking of the City of London, to refer to English economics. For this City is, as we have seen, an essential factor in its machinery; but naturally its roots extend

still a good deal further. As everywhere, so in England it is to this day the productive classes, the elements creating values, which form the basis of their national economic system, although not to the same extent as in Germany. Whilst our own country relies practically evenly on agriculture and industry, agriculture falls in England more and more into the background, and even her industry gives way against the ever-growing importance of capitalism. The national economy of this country may be designated as a transition from industry to finance.

It can, of course, not be denied that agriculture is not entirely a thing of the past in the three united kingdoms. But whilst in the German Empire we find, in 1903, still 8,156,045 workers making their living out of agriculture, market-gardening and cattle-rearing (not including their dependents, who do not assist in earning a living), only 988,340 people followed this avocation in England and Wales in 1901, and in the three kingdoms about 1,250,000. To these must be added about 160,000 ornamental gardeners; so that the number of people living by the

land may be estimated at about 1,400,000. In 1895 Great Britain possessed still 134,877 farms of from 1 to 5 acres, and altogether 402,138 farms, some exceeding 500 acres, with a total of 32,210,721 acres. However, only about 4½ million acres were cultivated by their owners as against 28 millions let on lease. In Ireland 543,649 farms are leased out; so that the three united kingdoms contain still 950,000 farms with:

Horses	.. ..	2,060,995
Cattle	.. ..	11,368,786
Sheep	.. ..	29,584,378
Pigs	.. ..	4,070,033

Great Britain and Ireland contains about 77,109,000 acres of land. These consist of 13,501,000 acres (17.6 per cent.) uncultivated or incapable of being cultivated, such as mountains, rivers and streets; 30,380,000 acres (3.9 per cent.) forests, whilst 23,412,000 acres (30 per cent.) provide grazing (hills and heath), and 37,156,000 acres (48 per cent.) are arable and meadows.

The following shows the produce gathered in in 1903, given in 1,000 bushels:

	Great Britain.	Ireland.	Total.
Wheat ..	47,643	1,602	49,245
Barley ..	59,474	7,945	67,419
Oats ..	124,681	53,801	178,482
Beans ..	7,450	102	7,552
Peas ..	4,803	10	4,813
In tons { Potatoes ..	2,914	2,726	5,640
In tons { Turnips, etc.	19,927	4,947	24,874

This list plainly demonstrates the small extent of agriculture in these islands, as compared with 3,000,396 tons of wheat, 3,100,227 tons of barley, 7,467,250 tons of oats and 43,462,393 (!) tons of potatoes in Germany, which country, furthermore, grows 9,494,150 tons of rye, an almost unknown produce as far as England is concerned. And what is more, agriculture is declining from year to year. We will see directly the influence of these conditions upon the British import trade.

In dealing with the food question account must, however, be taken of British fisheries, which in 1902 gave employment to

106,477 men and women. The fishing industry grows steadily, reaching in 1903 for the United Kingdom 877,563 tons, exclusive of crustacea, and with these, but exclusive of salmon, totalling the value of £9,253,444. Oysters, lobsters, mussels, etc., were drawn from the deep to the amount of £355,267. The importance of this item for the prosperity of England can easily be understood, considering that the production of all this food requires no sinking of capital, being merely taken out of the water. A walk through any English town, more especially through London, shows even to the uninitiated how high a percentage nature provides in this product of the people's food supply of the seas. Everywhere fishmongers' shops are full of the most delicious nourishment, of which the average output for every weekday amounts to £33,000.

Two other articles with which nature itself has richly endowed this country are, as is well known, coal and iron. In 1902 no less than 855,603 people were employed in the mines, amongst them 824,791 in 3,349 coal mines, resulting in an output of 227,095,042 tons,

to the value of £93,521,407; 30,812 in 703 metal mines, producing 13,426,004 tons of iron, with a value of £14,244,937, and zinc, which takes second place, to the value of £175,125.

As these figures show, the following industries are directly devoted to the production of raw material, viz.: agriculture, cattle and sheep-breeding, fisheries and mines, employing together 2,350,000 people. If we include forestry and hunting, park-keepers and private gardeners, we may assume a figure of about 2½ million; and as, on an average, every man so employed has a wife and two children, for the British workman marries at an early age, we find that about 10,000,000 people out of an entire population of 42,000,000, *i.e.*, about 24 per cent. belong to these classes. This extraordinarily small percentage is characteristic for the economical conditions of the British Isles.

But not only the producer of raw material supplies to national economy. Indeed, this is done by everyone who assists in turning the raw material into articles of use, viz.: the manufacturer. Although industry still

is the mainstay of England, it has for a considerable time fallen short of meeting the requirements of the nation.

First and foremost in the industrial undertakings we find to this day the textile industry, the manufacture of woollen and cotton goods, in which, according to the last statistics available, 1898–9, a total of 1,036,570 people were employed, viz.: 387,583 males, including 96,786 under 18, and 648,987 females.

In 1902, England imported 1,816,737,888 lbs. of cotton, of which 275,163,056 were again exported, whilst 1,541,574,832 lbs. went to factories. In the same year the wool import amounted to 643,298,024 lbs., the export 285,372,387 lbs., the home consume being 357,625,637 lbs. This industry has been steadily expanding within the last ten years. In 1903 the United Kingdom had 2,476 cotton factories as against 2,363 in 1890, with 44 million of spindles, as against 40½ million, whilst duplicating machinery remained constant, and the number of looms increased only from 615,000 to 683,000. In 1903 flax was imported to the amount of 212

million lbs., and grown at home to the amount of 24 million lbs. Of this quantity 227 million went to British mills and 9 million lbs. was exported.

These form still the staple articles of British export, cotton goods to the value of £73,600,000, woollen goods amounting to £21,800,000, and linen to £6,400,000 being sent to foreign countries in 1903.

Side by side with the manufacture of textile goods the iron industry is, of course, a leading factor. It employed in 1902 about 216,000 people, and exported to the value of about £35,000,000; and if we include shipbuilding and machinery, which usually fall under the same heading, another 300,000 workmen must be added with an export of £18,755,000. Shipbuilding more especially continues steadily expanding. In 1900 its tonnage was 944,267, as against 118,828 in Germany and 393,790 in the United States; in 1902, in Great Britain 950,425, as against 468,831 in the United States; 800,000 tons were built for British and 150,000 tons for foreign shipping companies in 1902.

The importance of shipping for British

economy can be judged from the following figures: in 1902 the British fleet consisted of 30,713 ships, viz.: 10,455 sailing vessels, 20,285 steamships, with a total tonnage of 10,054,770 tons (1,950,675 sailing vessels, 8,104,995 steamships). The total number of ships was in the same year 35,781 (besides 26,630 fishing-boats), with a tonnage of 11,566,745 tons. At the same period the total tonnage of ships in Germany amounted to about 2,250,000, *i.e.*, not even 20 per cent. of those in Great Britain. The enormous extent of British shipping will easily be appreciated by a comparison of the principal ports. In 1902 the following tonnages arrived at London, 16,385,959; Liverpool, 10,178,956; Hong-Kong, 9,800,000; New York, 9,053,196; and Hamburg, 8,561,478 tons. The three largest ports in the world are, therefore, still to this day under the Union Jack.

British bottoms carry two-thirds of the entire trans-oceanic freightage. We shall soon see the amount of income placed thereby to the credit side of British economy by the world's trade; at this point I will only briefly

mention that British shipping gives employment to 253,540 people.

The most important industry, *i.e.*, the one employing the greatest number of people, is, strange to say, the production and distribution of alcoholic liquors, with which no less than 2,000,000 are directly or indirectly concerned, such as brewers, distillers, restaurant keepers, publicans, etc.; £215,000,000 are invested in breweries and distilleries, £15,000,000 in public houses, and £10,000,000 in wine, beer and whiskey businesses; 5,890 breweries and 191,197 public houses exist in England, 18,742 in Scotland. The United Kingdom spends annually £179,500,000 in alcoholic drinks. It is assumed that there are 3,000,000 abstainers, and 14,500,000 (35 per cent.) children under 15, who do not count as consumers; if we deduct these 17,500,000 from the entire population of 42,000,000, we arrive at the result of 24,000,000 people consuming annually £7 worth per head.

On this point it is interesting to note that, according to comparative statistics, Great Britain drinks more beer than either Ger-

many, the United States, or France, namely, 30.2 gallons per head, as against Germany with 27.3, United States with 14.5, and France with 6.2 gallons per head. Most wine is consumed in France, viz.: 25.4 gallons per head, as against 1.45 in Germany, .62 in the United States, and .36 in Great Britain. France, too, has the greatest bill in liquors: 2.02 gallons per head, as against 1.36 of the United States, 1.34 of Germany, and 1.05 in Great Britain. Thus the French drink most, the Americans least, and the English, not the Germans, are the hardest beer drinkers, which will come as a great surprise to many readers.

Amongst important trades in England I will only mention the building trade (bricklayers, carpenters, glaziers, painters, paperhangers, etc.) with 945,875, tailoring with 259,292, bootmaking with 251,143, printing and bookbinding with 149,793, the manufacture of furniture with 125,531, glass and crockery with 92,556, 186,000 bakers, and 138,000 butchers.

All these, including shipping, may in a wider sense be called productive. They em-

ploy in round numbers, 7,000,000 persons in the three kingdoms, which form the lower middle class. Foreigners are usually of opinion that there is no middle class in England; rich and poor are considered to be in diametrical opposition. This idea is, as I have shown, entirely erroneous; a large well-to-do middle class forms in England more than anywhere else a connecting link between social contrasts, leading very gradually from the upper ten thousand to direst poverty. For the artizans, such as bakers, butchers, tailors and bootmakers, are in their upper strata of an enterprising nature; and every steady and ambitious workman has the chance of becoming an employer under the British system of junior partnership. To rise in social rank is by far not so difficult in England as with us, and this very fact deprives the social question of its bitterness and acrimony. To this must be added the marvellous colonial system, which offers to the lowest ranks a continuous and heavy emigration beyond the seas, and the opportunity of social regeneration. With this we will deal later on. The

10,000,000 people thus settled represent a population of at least 30 millions, or about 70 per cent. of the whole population. We must always keep in mind that 35 per cent. of the inhabitants are children under 15 years of age, 31 per cent adult men and 34 per cent adult females. To every 14½ million children correspond 14 million women and 13½ million men, so that we must add to 10,000,000 men in round numbers 11,000,000 children under 15 years old, and about 10,000,000 women (mothers, wives and sisters). I will deduct from this one million, because we have seen that the female element is well to the fore in many trades, but against that women and girls have also people depending upon them. Only the most intricate statistics could show the exact proportion between workers and those provided for, and such statistics are not published in England, so that we must be satisfied with a general estimate.

Another factor for British national economy is commerce. Napoleon already termed the English a nation of shopkeepers, and, to a certain extent, this holds good to

this very day. We have seen before that more especially the City of London is the trading centre of the world; and it is in this respect merely the point of accumulation for this island and naval empire. Nature herself had endowed Great Britain for the trade beyond the seas by providing her with bays and harbours and the close-lying coasts of the Continent for awakening her dormant powers. Towards the world's trading Great Britain is forced by her whole political past and by her colonial expansion, and nothing but commercial instinct made England what she is to-day. Without this commerce the British Isles would be no more to the world's economy than Ireland is to this day.

I said that London is the main centre of British commerce, but she has quite a number of sisters around the coast of Albion. It is worth while to cast a glance at these other British ports; otherwise we have only a one-sided idea of English trading power. Leaving out of the question the coasting trade, which does not interest the world at large, and taking only the trans-oceanic

trade, we find the following tonnage of ships touching ports:

London	17,564,198
Liverpool	13,157,714
Cardiff	12,556,644
Tyne Ports ..	8,369,347
Hull	4,480,538
Newport	4,464,543
Glasgow	4,144,217
Southampton ..	3,224,491

and others.

The sum total of vessels arriving at the ports of the United Kingdom in 1902 amounted to 365,996 of 109,166,534 tons, the outgoing ones, 360,829 of 108,119,613 tons. For the sake of comparison I may state that at the whole of the German ports arrived in 1901, loaded vessels (German and foreign) to the number of 78,603, with a tonnage of 17,675,612 tons, 10,396,069 being German and 4,017,505 British; whilst the outgoing vessels numbered 64,535, with a tonnage of 13,043,213; vessels in ballast, arrivals, 10,809, with 1,493,519 tonnage;

outgoings, 25,182, with a tonnage of 6,089,829. All German ports together, therefore, showed arrivals, 89,412 vessels, with 19,169,131 tons, against 360,996 vessels of 109,166,534 tons in British Ports; outgoings 89,717 vessels of 19,123,042 tons against 360,829, of 108,119,613 tons in Great Britain and Ireland. This shows, that the traffic in the British ports consisted of over four times as many vessels with over five times the tonnage as in all German ports together. In order to still better understand this proportion, we must keep in mind that there are 42,000,000 British as against 58,000,000 Germans. On the other hand, German commerce to the east and south is transacted by rail, whilst Great Britain has to rely on ships exclusively for its entire traffic. Every foreign egg, every apple, reaches England by vessel; every singlet, every nail must leave England by water for export to a foreign country. This fact deprives the figures enumerated above of a great deal of power, as far as the entire trading effect is concerned; they prove, however, how much more Great Britain depends

on the sea than Germany, which is and remains eminently continental in her economic principles.

In order to arrive at a clear understanding of British trade, we will refer to the figures of official statistics. The United Kingdom had in 1903:

Imports	£542,906,325
Exports	£360,447,316
And therefore a total foreign trade of ..	£903,353,641

The exports consist of British goods and foreign and colonial produce, not consumed in England, viz.:

British	£290,890,281
In transit	£69,557,035

The difference between export and import amounts to £182,459,009; representing the excess of goods bought by England over goods sold by England to foreign countries.

Let us again compare these figures with

the German commercial statistics. In 1902, Germany

Imported for	£290,000,000
Exported for	£240,000,000

so that her foreign trade amounted to £530,000,000, with a difference of £50,000,000 more money spent in imports than received for exports.

The principal items of British import are, as a matter of course, provisions and raw material for her industries, her purchases being :

Cereals and flour	£70,505,676
Meat	39,440,079
Sugar	15,458,857
Cattle	9,755,180
Oils	11,370,917
Wines	4,699,602
Cheese	7,054,305
Butter	23,115,060
Eggs	6,671,619
Tea	7,666,790
Coffee	3,210,938
Tobacco	4,177,944
Fruit and hops	10,945,579

As regards raw material I have already dealt with wool, cotton and flax. Besides these, England buys :

Leather	£8,090,390
Chemicals	8,846,668
Timber	27,113,124

and many metals, whilst she exported in 1903 metals to the amount of £30,453,190. Her exports further embrace principally all sorts of textile manufactures, coal, machinery, ships, pottery, and, lastly, chemicals and colours for £12,079,554, *i.e.*, over 3 million more than her imports. That articles appear both amongst imports and exports is due to the fact that a nation is not one complex institution under one foreman, but consists of millions of individuals, who buy and sell ; part of the imported goods being again exported in transit.

These figures evidence the important standing of Great Britain in the world's commerce. As we have seen, the annual British imports and exports exceeds that of Germany by £373,000,000. The import alone exceeds that of Germany by £252,000,000, *i.e.*,

she purchases goods to this amount more from foreign countries than Germany does. This denotes in itself her position amongst commercial nations. These islands are the best customer; their purchasing power is greater than that of any other State. For whatever Britain buys she pays for, and we shall see in which way she does so.

For our present purpose it is the question, not so much of Britain's international trade as of the retail trade within her frontiers; for this latter provides a living for more people than the wholesale trade. These are the real shopkeepers, and amongst them grocers take first place. Then come stationers, dressmakers and milliners, tobacconists, or, in short, all retail shops down to the smallest sweet shop. They number, according to good statistics, over half a million, and two million people make a living in this manner.

In wholesale businesses about 1,500,000 find employment in offices and warehouses, so that we may assume that about 3½ million people live by commerce and trading.

The proportion of one worker to three

dependents does not apply to the commercial community, for clerks marry less frequently than workmen.

Very extensive, and frequently of a grotesque nature, is advertising, which, called into existence by trade rivalry, enters more and more into every phase of life. Newspapers and hoardings are the principal means employed for this never-ending means of keeping goods constantly before the public; but circulars delivered by post or by hand are another means much in favour for recommending firms and special articles of merchandise. Newspaper advertisements differ from those we are accustomed to on the Continent only by their size, but the illustrations on hoardings and empty houses are unique and characteristic for Great Britain.

Pears' Soap was the pioneer, with a series of successive coloured cartoons, always striking and often humorous.

To-day, Nestle's Milk, Burton's Ale, Mellin's Food, Bovril, Liebig, Force Food, the several whisky firms and others, advertise just in the same way. The picture is generally mirth provoking and impresses itself on

the imagination, so that it is not easily forgotten. And that is what it is meant to do. As a rule, it bears a striking inscription, such as: "Don't worry; Sunlight soap"; "Buck up, buy the *Sporting Life*"; "To err is human; don't err, buy the *Outlook*."

When travelling in the country you find the beautiful landscape disfigured by enormous boards, ever reminding us that "Beecham's pills are worth a guinea a box"; "Beecham's pills cure." We look out of the window in the railway train dreaming of youth and home, when we learn that "Sarsaparilla tea is good for the blood." The railway stations are so crowded with all kinds of advertisements from theatres to Ogden's Cigarettes and Globe Polish, that it requires practice to trace amongst all this trash the name of the station. It is no doubt getting abominable, and how an intelligent people like the English stand it is astonishing.

But advertising has caught on with everyone. The politician sends his "letters to the Editor," to the *Times*, and the author works to get a puff in the newspapers; the Society lady goes to bazaars, to dinners and

to funerals, merely in order to see her name mentioned in the *Morning Post.* It is everywhere the same, right down to the advertisement of blacking and varnish. "To keep before the public" is the rage, and the battle-cry is to get your name in print somehow and anyhow.

Of special elegance and often really artistic are the circulars sent out by the large fashionable emporia. Whole almanacs on the most beautiful paper with tasty illustrations are often sent as registered letters. The same is done by restaurants; hairdressers send samples of tooth-powders and dentifrices; wine merchants small bottles of whiskey, brandy or liqueurs. Other traders have gilt carriages drawn by four horses parading the town, bearing the name and address of the firm; or, again, we see dozens of sandwich men, each with a board or two showing an advertisement, slowly walking up and down the street. In short, advertisements are many-sided, all original, mostly effective, and typical of English business methods, and for this reason we have devoted some space to them.

Besides the classes hitherto dealt with, all of which are occupied either directly or indirectly with the production, manufacture, or trading of national economical values, we find in England as everywhere others doing more or less the work required by the communities and thus earning their living. This land can hardly be said to have State officials, and therefore the clergy takes a high place socially and also politically. Clergymen command in town and country a position unknown in our country. England and Wales count 13,881 clergymen of the Church of England, drawing an annual income of £3,468,755, equal to £250 each. Then there are 5,961 curates. The Nonconformists employ 10,105 ministers. The Wesleyan and Baptists take the first place amongst these. In Scotland the majority are Presbyterians, forming the State religion, with 674,293 communicants and the United Free Church with 498,476 communicants. The total Protestant community numbers 1,266,458 members. I do not know how many ministers are in Scotland; but the annual income of the two Presby-

terian churches amounts to: State Church £518,590; United Free Church, £1,088,236. Ireland has 3,308,661 Roman Catholics, with a very influential clergy, 581,089 Episcopals, 443,276 Presbyterians, and about 125,000 of other denominations. The Church of England provides more especially younger sons of high-class families with good positions.

It is characteristic for this country that the clerical office is called a "living," equal to a livelihood.

The salaries of the Civil servants, communal officials and clerks in public companies in 1903 amounted to £79,151,000.

To the same class must be reckoned the Army and Navy, which in England is a profession. The Army consists in the United Kingdom of 153,438 men, beyond the seas of 171,215 with 13,267 officers; the Navy of 117,000 men with 20 admirals, 4,052 officers and about 2,500 petty officers.

Then we come to the professions. Unfortunately we have for this class a census of England and Wales only; but as England forms about four-fifths of the United King-

dom, we cannot go far wrong if we add one-fifth to the figures at hand. This would give us for Great Britain and Ireland about 27,000 medical men, 26,000 barristers and solicitors, with 42,000 law clerks, 290,000 teachers, 14,000 authors, 54,000 musicians. Characteristic for the luxury is the large number of male servants, viz.: at least 1,600,000 (in England, 1,322,965); porters, messengers, etc., 230,000 (England, 185,487); private coachmen and stable hands about 90,000; lodge keepers, 35,000. There are about 140,000 cabdrivers, 75,000 waiters and waitresses, etc., etc.

It is hardly necessary to specify all these in detail, the more so as they naturally fluctuate. Suffice it, that taken all round they make a good and comfortable living, especially the legal profession (lawyers, solicitors and barristers), who are allowed a greater scope even in politics than many a business man approves of.

These professional classes make the rest of the English nation. They are not producers themselves, but must be kept by the nation's wealth, which they do in no way

enrich. The intelligent reader will easily see from the foregoing tables that the British national wealth cannot be sufficiently replenished by the classes mentioned. The discrepancy between the income from the resources enumerated and the expenditure of the nation as a whole was shown in the difference between import and export, which in 1903 amounted to £182,459,009, and is continually on the increase. If, therefore, the United Kingdom had no other source, it would be annually poorer to the amount of £182,459,009, and ultimately land in bankruptcy. I will show in the next chapter how this disproportion led Mr. Chamberlain and his party to the conclusion that England must break with its system of Free Trade, in order to stop the continuous decline of her industry, and with it that of her exports. As far as our investigation is concerned, it is sufficient to show that the English Budget possesses, as a matter of fact, other rich sources of income, which more than counterbalance the loss account in her dealings with foreign countries.

We have already alluded to an item of

income, *i.e.*, the profit earned from foreign countries by the carrying trade in ships, amounting, according to Sir Robert Giffin, to £90,000,000 annually. To this must be added at least another £90,000,000 revenue from foreign investments, £20,000,000 commissions in the City (Stock Exchange and commerce), and finally remittances from India and the Colonies in pensions for officers, officials and widows. The last item cannot be ascertained. It does not seem to be to the interest of the British Government, to let the world know the indirect advantages gained from the dependencies. The profits from banking business also can only be guessed. In my opinion the income from the former source is £50,000,000, whilst I am unable to form an opinion at all on the latter item. But the income from the first four categories alone amounts to £250,000,000, which more than makes up for the deficit of £182,000,000 in trading.

The enormous wealth of the country is proved by the proportionately large number of residents living on unearned increment.

In 1901 people living on inherited means numbered 455,377 and retired business people, likewise living on their interest 343,810, then pensioned colonial officials, officers and clergymen. Amongst these classes less get married than amongst the rest of the populace, and the inherited or acquired wealth usually goes back to the family. All these with professionals, officials, and officers form the "Upper Middle Classes," and they are the nucleus of the West End clubs.

The stability of wealth in the upper classes of English Society, especially the nobility, is in the main due to the British law of inheritance. This country, most liberal in politics, is socially and in matters of wealth the most conservative of all. The large family estates are all entailed. The eldest son inherits with the title also the land; the title goes with possession. The younger sons receive merely a settlement, if it has been provided for—no buildings, no acres from the family estates. If no direct heir exists, the estates go over to an agnate. For in England no title of nobility exists without estate, and

thereupon rests the high standing of the nobility, which is represented in the House of Lords. The great number of penniless counts, barons and other titled people, abounding in Continental States, and representing nought but a hollow name or an empty shell, are non-existent in England. Younger sons are without title become mere commoners and usually embark in ordinary occupations. This is important in order to understand the whole state of English society. Another item is the division of all estate into leaseholds and freeholds. Not only, that the inherited family estate cannot be scattered through inheritance; all lands which have been sold and re-sold as well as the inherited and acquired possessions, built on, usually revert at regular intervals to their original owners. This is the meaning of "leasehold," viz.: that the owner is such only for a number of years, but not for ever. As a rule leases are granted for 99 and sometimes for not more than 49 years. During such period the property may change ownership, but at the expiration of the lease it returns to the original proprietor or his family

with all buildings and improvements. Thus the greatest part of the West End of London stands on ground belonging to the Duke of Westminster. Just think what an enormous growth of the family estate such legal aspect denotes. If the Duke of Westminster so desired, he could make a whole district of London disappear by calling in his leases. To Lord Holland belongs West Kensington proper; to the Duke of Devonshire the whole of Eastbourne, and so it is all over England and Ireland. Ranke used to say that the English revolutions stopped short at the real estate. This is perfectly true, and in this way the property law throws its tentacles into the modern business life of Great Britain like an immense relic from the Middle Ages. It is evident that democratic reform ought to start its move from this institution. The Englishman, however, is so conservative that he willingly accepts whatever is rooted in historical associations and does rather compromise with it than try to overturn it.

And thus we see the historical continuity, upon which the political character of England is built, to this very day eminent even in her

economical condition. The radical juxtaposition between the Middle Ages and modern times, so discernible in every branch of continental life, does not exist in the Island Kingdom. All institutions and conditions reach right back uninterruptedly to the Norman conquest, yea, even as far as the Anglo-Saxon invasion, in State, Church, and national economy. And all this has continuously evolved organically and smoothly, and not, as in our country, by revolutionary eruptions. Nevertheless, the preceding description must have convinced the reader that English economy contains side by side with the elements of historical descent all that is modern in industry and commerce, and that Great Britain is leading amongst the nations in the most modern of all evolutions, capitalism itself. The internal life of this peculiar State moves between such opposite poles which seem so simple at the first glance, but are so intensely hard of comprehension in all their ramifications. I trust to have given some little idea of their foundations.

It must be admitted, that even the clearest and most minute statistics cannot convey to

the mind's eye a true illustration of the real state of affairs, unless we are able to realise the connection between the dead figures and the actual daily life of the individual.

However extensive the list of classes we delineate, however minutely we record how much each class produces and the profit it earns, the whole picture must remain a mere shadow until we can at least approximately state the amount drawn by the individual inhabitant from the current of national wealth, and its importance upon the necessities and luxuries of every entity. In other words, in order to understand the conditions of life prevailing amongst a nation as a whole, we must ascertain, not what it earns and spends collectively, but how this annual budget of national economics finds its reflection upon each family circle and the amount of purchasing power from the income of each person. I will try to give an outline of its application to British national economy.

The statistics of 1904 show, that farm labourers earn a weekly average of 18s. 6d in Great Britain (varying from 15s. to 22s. in the different counties), the weekly earn-

ings of the town labourers averaging 29s. 10d. (from 20s. to 40s.). In order to understand these figures we must ascertain their purchasing power, and we can do this best by comparing the cost of living per unit of population in England with that in, say, Germany.

For this calculation we must look at two facts: 1. Great Britain enjoys free trade for all food. 2. She can be reached all around by sea. This means that the cheapest markets of the world are open to her, and that the freight to all parts adds hardly anything to the cost; consequently, the price of articles of food is startlingly lower in England than in Germany.

The principal diet of the British labourer consists of *white bread*, wheat flour, potatoes, beef, mutton, bacon, butter, *tea*, sugar, as against *brown bread*, wheat flour, potatoes, beef, *veal*, *pork*, bacon, *coffee* and sugar in Germany. These articles cost in England in 1902, in pence:

14 lbs.	Household flour.. ..	17½d.
4 „	Bread	4½

14	lbs.	Potatoes	10d.
1	lb.	Beef (colonial)	7
1	„	Mutton (colonial) ..	2½
1	„	Bacon	6
1	„	Butter (Irish)	13½
1	„	Margarine	6
1	„	Tea	18
1	„	Sugar (granulated) ..	1½
1	„	Sugar (loaf)	2

These are the "market prices" of articles of food guaranteed wholesome or imported direct from foreign countries, and bought by the working people. The home article, mostly consumed by the middle classes, is of course considerably higher in price, British rib of beef (steak) costing 1s., rib piece 9d., English mutton 10d., shoulder 8½d., and breast 4d. But for our purposes we merely wish to make it clear to German readers, at what prices the poorest can procure the principal food. The corresponding figures are well known to every German housewife.

Of other important foodstuffs I will only mention rice 2d., pork (leg) 9½d., fore-part 8½d., coffee 1s. 7d. a lb., eggs ranging from 6d.

to 1s. a dozen. The sea provides an especially cheap and nourishing element for the people. Fresh fish is sold in the markets per "lot" of 4d. each, such a lot usually consisting of six fresh herrings, five plaice, or a corresponding quantity of smelts. Eatable mussels sell at 1d. a pint, shrimps at 2d. a pint, and sprats at 2d. a lb. All these articles, as well as bananas, oranges, and other fruit, are brought to the people's door by costermongers and lustily called out in the streets.

The supply of cheap food is inexhaustible. Meat comes to England in a frozen state. It is as wholesome, although not quite so tasty, as the home killed. The very poorest have many chances of buying at still lower rates. Early before the shops open they visit the butchers' and bakers' and buy up what is left from the previous day. I am informed that the price of such stuff, equally warranted wholesome by the police, is one-half or one-third the normal rate.

In one of the succeeding chapters I shall try to show, how on this basis an English working man's family arranges its meals;

at this juncture it may suffice to state that it has been calculated that a rural labourer in England spends 73 per cent. of his weekly wages of 18s. 6d.—viz., 13s. 6½d.—on food, a family of man, wife and four children, using on an average weekly: mutton or beef, 3.4 lbs.; pork, 1⅛ lb.; bacon, 1¼ lb.; bread, 19½ lbs.; flour, 14¼ lbs.; oatmeal and rice, 1¼ lb.; potatoes, 25¾ lbs.; tea ½ lb.; coffee or cocoa, ⅛ lb.; butter, 1 lb.; dripping or margarine, 1 lb.; sugar, 4⅓ lbs.; syrup or jam, 1⅝ lb.; milk, 13 pints, besides fish, mussels, etc. His rent amounts to 1s. 6d. a week, leaving 3s. a week for clothing, fuel, light and amusement. This does not include the help given by wife and children, the produce of a small garden, a few heads of poultry and such.

The town labourers, with average weekly wage of 29s. 10d., consist of bricklayers, joiners, carpenters, painters, plumbers, street pavers, builders, smiths, coachmen, dock labourers, etc. Reckoning a family of five (parents and three children), statistics show their weekly food to consist of 32 lbs. of bread, 7½ lbs. of meat and bacon; and with the increase in wages (foremen, joiners, etc.,

get as much as from 38s. to 43s. 9d. as against 22s. 6d., 25s. and 26s. 7d. in Germany) the consume of meat takes a corresponding preponderance over cereals. An income of from 35s. to 40s. results in a weekly consume of from 9 to 10 lbs. of meat. With wages between 30s. and 35s. a London working man's family used in 1903 per week: 1.54 lb. of butter, 1.15 lb. of cheese, 10.33 pints of milk, 13.8 lbs. of potatoes, 2.66 lbs. of rice, tapioca or oatmeal, .59 lb. of tea, 5 lbs. of sugar, 9d. worth of fish, 1s. worth of eggs, etc.

The average of all wage-earning classes shows that next to meat, bread and flour, most money is spent on: butter 1s. 8½d., milk 1s. 5d., potatoes, greens, fruit, tea, sugar and eggs.

Statistics like these can naturally not represent the individual mode of living, which is everywhere different; not every family spends its income in the identical manner. One prefers fruit, another meat, a third wastes the largest part in drink, but we get in this way an average idea of how the lowest classes live, and this is enough for

our purpose. Considering that wages in England average 20 per cent. higher than in Germany, that the week has only 54 working hours, that all articles of food are cheaper, the fundamental conditions of prosperous home-life are all around more favourable in England than in Germany. And yet he does not derive a greater comfort from them for the simple reason that a German labourer's wife is more economical and more industrious than the English wife. Indeed, I should say that although the British workman works less hours, pays less for his food, and earns more than the German, his standard of living is as a rule lower. I found the workmen in a well-appointed German factory better clothed and looking better fed than those in Sheffield, Birmingham or London.

On the other hand, the smaller requirements of German labourers, their superior diligence and intelligence (acquired in the communal schools and principally in the army), are the main reasons why German industry can compete with British industry in spite of the great natural advantages

possessed by the latter. With this we will deal in the succeeding chapter.

I need not further follow up the scale of prices in England. In manufactured goods clothing and foot-gear foreign countries, more especially Germany and America, have of late flooded the English market to such an extent that the workman, and whoever else wishes to, can provide himself cheaper than it is possible in Germany. This is the "dumping" system which is ruining the British industry, but is a boon to the consumer.

It was here necessary to show the lowest standard of living. The gradually rising scale may be left to the imagination of the reader. If we pass from bacon and mutton to caviar and champagne, the natural advantages of England cease to exsit. Regular food is cheap in Great Britain and Ireland; luxuries are expensive. As on the one hand London is the cheapest of the capitals, so undoubtedly it is the dearest on the other hand; and that not because the articles themselves cost more in London than in Berlin or Paris, but because life in the highest

circles presupposes luxury on a more extensive scale. The requirements here excel by far those anywhere else. To this small island flows a river of diamonds and pearls from all parts of the earth to adorn women and girls; here sport leads men to the most fantastic extravagances. A gentleman can surely live in London on the same amount as in Berlin; only what is considered in Berlin as living "up to the mark," is "genteel" in England. In Berlin a man is satisfied to live in a flat; in England a town house and a country house are a necessity if you belong to the "set." Horses and servants run into enormous sums. We must not forget this, if we want to form a correct estimate of English national economics. The Englishman of the higher class is extravagant, and the higher class goes further down into the ranks than amongst any other nation. And yet the foundations are solid and rest on sound economical conditions. The system is in the United Kingdom, too, built in its ultimate stage on work. We saw how this machinery is composed.

We found that agriculture is in the British

Isles not of one-eighth part of the importance as in Germany; but we see that the loss to the "small man" from this condition is partly counterbalanced by the higher development of shipping and the fisheries.

We found that Great Britain still has the lead in cotton and wool manufacture, but that in all other great industries the competing nations, more especially Germany and the United States, are fighting her for first place. Taken all around, the import of manufactured goods exceeds by far the export. The loss arising therefrom is made good by the enormous profit of the ever-growing sea-carrying trade, the interest on foreign investments, salaries paid by the great dependencies and by commissions and bankers' profits. My readers will thus see that I am right in terming English national economy a transitory stage from industry to finance. Simultaneously it may be stated that the sea and all that is connected with it forms the economical basis of those islands.

The sovereignty of the oceans is, therefore, the vital question for the Anglo-Saxon race. Once deprived of the power of controlling the

seas, Great Britain would immediately sink to the standard in the world's stage now occupied by Ireland. On the other hand, we see from the facts laid bare that the fate of this Empire depends also on the possibility of becoming a purely financial community with all the consequences of such a system, *i.e.*, on the question whether her industry is to follow in the wake of her decaying agriculture, or whether British statecraft and policy will be able to save the State from such unrestricted dependence on foreign production. These two problems—the lasting predominance at sea and the maintenance of British industry against foreign competition—form the nucleus of all the work which English policy will have to deal with in the twentieth century. Everything else is subordinate. If Great Britain were to cease ruling the waves, she would not only at one stroke lose her political eminence amongst the nations of the earth, there would be also an end to English luxury and to the very livelihood of at least half her inhabitants. If the industries of Manchester, Sheffield and Birmingham were to follow in the

footsteps of the farms of Kent, Surrey and Devonshire, the British Island would depend on foreign countries for all necessities of life, and there would be no room for the British workman. And so the study of British national economy leads us to the study of British politics.

CHAPTER V.

POLITICS AND THE PRESS.

WITH this chapter we reach the high-water mark of the British nation's endowment. For the Anglo-Saxons are above all else a nation of statesmen. However much their national genius may differ from that of the Romans, in this the two peoples are alike, that their supreme qualities are focussed in the government and organisation of States. Since the days of the Scipios and the Julians, no Indo-European race has exhibited so brilliant a political genius as this Low-German stock. It is true, that statesmen of the first order have also been born of Teutonic blood: Charlemagne and Otto the Great; Frederick the Great and Bismarck stand next to Cæsar, Oliver Crom-

well, and Pitt. But with us they appear singly and without embodying the creative force of the entire nation; whose tendency is rather to develop the subjective individual, and in this respect has more likeness to the dreamy Hindu and the Greeks; whilst the greatness about Roman and British history is that here the whole people was and is a participant in the work of statesmanship. So that it is not by a mere chance, that only to these two nations in Western history has it been permitted to create real world-empires.

On the other hand, one would certainly be at fault if one believed, that in the contrast of Romans with Greeks lay the whole explanation of the difference between the English and the Germans. As much as Rome and England resemble one another in this single trait of political unity, in everything else they are as radically different. If, when contrasting the Romans with the Greeks, we accept one as representing genius of statecraft, the other that of the humanities, arts and sciences, we would certainly not place the nation of Wycliffe

and John Knox, of Shakespeare, Milton and Byron, of Bacon and Locke, Newton and Darwin, of James Watt and Stephenson on the side of the sterile Romans. In every department of modern Western civilisation the British have assisted as pioneers; and one need only read Lessing, Goethe, or Kant to know how much our own culture owes to Anglo-Saxon impulse. Here Greece would be the fitting parallel—Rome not at all.

Just as misleading and inappropriate is the frequently recurring comparison between Rome (Germany) and Carthage (England), based on the relationship of these powers as land and sea powers respectively.

Quite apart from the fact that Carthags was never really a sea-power in the modern sense of the term—with one exception she was regularly defeated at sea by the Romans; while at Lake Trasimene and at Cannæ she fought two of the most brilliant land victories recorded in history—it is largely a matter of accident that, owing to the physical peculiarity of their native land the Anglo-Saxons should just be brought into relationship with the sea. But in the essential

differences of nations the matter is, as I have already pointed out, entirely reversed. England resembles Rome, while the Semitic race, to which Carthage belonged, is peculiarly set apart by the complete absence of the political instinct which was the basis of the development of the Indo-Germanic peoples.

When one asks, from what special quality does the empire-building faculty of the British race really spring, one finds that the strong sense of individual self-reliance is the most salient. The system of "organised liberty" holds sway in every British settlement on the face of the globe. Its formulæ are self-government, down to the smallest units, and government by representation for the whole. The Englishman is opposed to any patronage from above; he must be his own law-giver. But, side by side with this, he is possessed of a strong sense of law and order, without which individualism can never lead to the making of states. This type of man is endowed at the outset with a deep respect for the rights of the individual, and this respect is evident in a

strong sense of fair play. What is known here as "fair" is at the bottom of all their legislative enactments.

This trait does not, however, fine down to a humanitarian cosmopolitanism; although one perceives a strong tendency, even in this direction, among the English. In every-day life they are preserved from this extreme by their national egotism. Against competing nations this people is unscrupulous, often brutal; but among themselves they are fair-minded and just. No nation in the world possesses a greater sense of gratitude towards its national heroes, or towards anybody who strives to serve the community. Throughout the British Empire it pays to be of service to the commonweal, and this is not the least of the reasons for the wonderful advance of this race. Nowhere is it easier for a "strong personality" to find elbow room for its strength than among the British.

This root-faculty explains why envy plays so small a part in the political development of Anglo-Saxondom. Treitschke calls the Germans the most ungrateful nation on

earth, and we all know how strongly the feeling of envy is displayed in the social and political life of Germany. Here surely is the real reason for the dismal course taken by German history as compared with British. For the qualities of a people are not dependent on external destinies, but the reverse: the destinies of the people depend on the qualities of their race. The murder of Hermann, the Cheruskian, by his own tribe, is typical of our whole history. Every nation has not only the government it deserves, but also the fortunes.

On top of this basis of a strong sense of individual independence, combined with fairness towards others, the English are further welded into a political nation by a sober and realistic mind. Above all they are possessed of sound "common sense" and are free from the risks of a stereotyped and theoretical method of reasoning. The direction of their intelligence is inductive, and opposed to deduction. They therefore grasp problems set before them with a more naïve open-mindedness than nations which are schooled to think according to

abstract theories. This characteristic assists greatly in giving English institutions an appearance of irregularity, even of slovenliness; but, on the other hand, it preserves for them their primitive strength and freshness. No nation is less methodical than the English, but no nation is less burdened with "leaden theory." One feels this in the inadequacy of all their organisations; but, on the other side, it gives them the natural elasticity to meet new and unaccustomed circumstances without loss of time. That is why the English are the born Empire-builders of the European world.

I will return to this when we come to the consideration of the British Empire. Here I have to show how these peculiarities affect the political life of England itself.

Everybody knows that Great Britain is a constitutional State. This constitution has never been thought out in a human brain and then proclaimed by Act of Parliament, like those of all other European nations, but it has gradually evolved from natural causes. I have already pointed

out that in English history generally the revolutionary leap from the Middle Ages into modernity—as it has left its mark on the other modern States of Europe—is missing. Everything has sprung from roots that reach far back into the Middle Ages. The so-called English revolution of the seventeenth century was in reality only the suppression of the revolution from above, which, simultaneously, on the Continent, made an end of the remnants of the old Germanic communal freedom, as it had been preserved in the "estate," etc. While in France, Spain, Brandenburg and so on, the Crown triumphed over the Commons, and established absolutism like a "*rocher de bronze*," the masses represented by Parliament were victorious in England and Scotland. But the revolution under Cromwell did not create these new freemen and their "constitution," as was the case with the continental revolutions that occurred 150 to 200 years later. Wherefore the English government by Parliament has grown up with the country as the skin fits the body; while the continental constitutions have

arisen like a coat which one orders from a tailor.

Such an organic process of development has naturally led to the following quite peculiar methods of government in this country, which defy imitation elsewhere.

The first legislative power in the three united kingdoms is Parliament. From the middle of the thirteenth century Parliament has been divided into two houses: "the Lords" and "the Commons," the Upper and Lower Houses. The House of Lords consists of "peers" who derive their seats (1) by right of inheritance; (2) by nomination on the part of the Crown; (3) by their office (Bishops of the Church of England); (4) by election for life (Irish peers); (5) by election for a session (Scottish peers). In the year 1903 the "Lords" numbered 592 peers and 14 peeresses "in their own rights."

The House of Commons consists of members elected by county, town, or university constituencies. There is no universal suffrage, as with us, the right of voting being subject to certain limitations. To be an elector one

must have residential rights, the qualification, however, being a very small one. For instance, all freeholders and all leaseholders are entitled to vote; but, at the same time, every tenant in a house who has paid the poor-rate levied on that house for the past twelve months, and all lodgers who have occupied the same rooms for a space of twelve consecutive months, paying at least £10 a year rental, are also entitled to vote. Further, all owners of land returning at least £2 a year; or life-tenants of land returning at least £5 a year; or the owners of a house-lease of at least 60 years, and of a minimum value of £5; or of 20 years, and a value of £50 per annum, and so on. This kind of qualification may lead to women who are economically independent possessing a vote and to one and the same person voting simultaneously in several electorates.

It will be seen that here is no theoretically expounded and general rule of suffrage, but that the thing stands exactly as it has developed. In all there were 6,987,660 voters in Great Britain and

Ireland in 1903, sending 670 members of Parliament to Westminster. Thus, about one-sixth of the population have the right to vote. To become member of Parliament one must be 21 years old, no minister, however, of any religious denomination being eligible. No government contractor or government executive official may take either an active or passive part in an election. Election is by secret ballot. The legislative period is seven years.

The executive government of Great Britain and Ireland rests nominally with the Crown, actually, however, with a committee of Ministers who represent the party commanding a majority in the Lower House. Prime Minister is, as a rule, the First Lord of the Treasury; he selects his colleagues; he also actually dispenses the greater part of the prerogatives of the Crown: *e.g.*, the distribution of orders, titles, and peerages, pardons, etc. Characteristic of this whole parliamentary system is the fact that members are admitted to Parliament even when they only take the oath to uphold the Constitution, and that they

need not swear fealty to the reigning Sovereign.

The Crown and the House of Lords must give their assent to measures passed in the Lower House before they become law. The form of government is further upheld in the fiction which gives the King the semblance of a decisive voice. He speaks of "My Army," "My Navy," "My Colonies," "My Indian Empire," etc.; and the whole service of the State is known as "His Majesty's Service." Actually, however, though the monarch, should he like the present Sovereign possess tact and discretion, has great social and political influence, he has no real power. This is exercised entirely, together with the rights to levy taxes and pass the budget, by the House of Commons; and through it by the leader, for the time being, of the parliamentary majority, who is at the same time Prime Minister. The House of Lords, also, the third factor in the Constitution, has practically lost every influence as a legislative assembly. Only once, to my knowledge, during the last quarter of a century,

has it refused its assent to a measure passed by the House of Commons. This was Gladstone's Home Rule Bill, against which the majority of the English representatives, in the Commons also, had voted and which was generally unpopular. During the last century I do not know of a case in which the reigning Sovereign has exercised his right to veto a measure passed by Parliament. Generally speaking, neither Crown nor Upper House dare make use of their right to veto any measure which has the outspoken approval of the electorates.

In Great Britain, therefore, we see that the monarchical form of government exists purely on paper. In reality the Crown is nothing more than an hereditary magistrature, without as much actual power as that exercised by the Presidents of the North American or French Republics. The sound, practical sense of this people is, however, shown in the preservation of this form. They can have no better guarantee for law and order, as well as for their civic liberty, than just in this monarchical head.

One need only call to mind American presidential elections to understand what I mean. Just because the Crown is entirely outside the arena of politics, it enjoys to the full the sincere veneration of the people. The Englishman loves the institution, just as it is, and the person of the monarch is respected by all classes of the people more than is the case in purely monarchical countries. The idea of *lèse majesté* is absent from the English public law; but nobody here would ever think of speaking disrespectfully of the person of the Sovereign. About 20 years ago, some social democrats once carried a figure of the late Queen, suspended from a gallows, across Trafalgar Square. The police and the magistrates took no notice of them; but the crowd themselves seized the tactless fellows and ducked them in the basin of the fountains outside the National Gallery. The notion of *laesa majestas* is derived, as is well known, from the Roman conception of the State and is foreign to the Germanic idea of royalty. As in several other institutions, so in this direction, the

English have preserved the original Germanic conception more purely than we ourselves. I think that just this absence of every intrusion of the police upon the relationship of king and subject lends it the affectionate and chivalrous character that, without question, exists here more than in any other country. We see the same thing in the public gardens, which, entrusted to the public here, are far better cared for than ours under the protection of the police. Undoubtedly the ever-growing number of actions for *lèse majesté* in Germany is one of the chief reasons for the increasing hatefulness of our public life, leaving quite out of the question the unpleasant character which even invades private intercourse in consequence of the ever-increasing watchfulness of sycophants and secret spies. Here is one of the smaller, but never-absent, reasons for the growing discontent of the educated classes of Germany. It gradually becomes intolerable, like a badly-fitting shoe, and drives loyal people, as a last resort, to revolutions.

My reader will see from the above, where

the political centre of gravity in Great Britain is to be found. It is public opinion, represented by the electorate, which is the sovereign umpire for the direction of the national policy, foreign and home. For public opinion decides the composition of the Lower House and with it that of the erstwhile Government, which is only a committee selected from the parliamentary majority. It may occur that the parliamentary majority no longer represents public opinion. In that case the "country" demonstrates by means of mass meetings and petitions, and the Government is soon forced to dissolve and order a general election. A Parliament never lasts through the whole seven years for which it has been elected. Last century a Cabinet of Disraeli just managed to keep in office from 1874 to 1880, a legislative period of 6 years and 19 days.

It stands to reason that such a Constitution is only possible where the political parties are divided by simple and clear issues; or, rather, where the two-party system alone prevails. The practical political sense of

this people is nowhere better demonstrated than by the fact that they have been able to carry on this two-party system, even if varying in form, for more than three centuries. The minor differences are sunk in the greater issues at stake; not as in Germany, where they, unable to overlook personal and purely theoretic grounds of difference, have succeeded in establishing more than a dozen and a half parties and sections. With us everybody stands immovable and whole-hoggishly for his own little programme and condemns everything outside it. Thus all possibility of government by Parliament is naturally lost.

Here in England the two great parties, which we learnt to know in our history lesson as Tories and Whigs, but which to-day are called Conservatives and Liberals, still exist for all practical purposes. To the Liberals belong the Radicals and the Labour party, which of late is coming more into the foreground. A trifle on one side stand the Irish, who, however, since the time of Gladstone's Home Rule Bill, have fallen into line with the Liberals. The Conservatives, under Mr. Bal-

four, are allied with the Liberal Unionists under Mr. Chamberlain. The two parties form, according to the result of the polls, either "His Majesty's Government" or "His Majesty's Opposition." The Conservatives, with the Liberal Unionists, have been in power since 1895.

Another peculiarity of the English political conception compared with ours is the small value placed on the sanctity of a formulated programme. With us, a young man, when about eighteen years old, adopts his "programme," which he clings to ever afterwards. He who changes programme and party is "a renegade." In England we see statesmen and parliamentarians change their views and parties quite cheerfully and quite openly. Mr. Gladstone began as a Conservative and became the demi-god of the Liberals; Mr. Chamberlain was originally a Republican and Radical, and is to-day the pillar of Conservatism. So, lately, Mr. Winston Churchill and Lord Hugh Cecil have crossed over from the Conservative to the Liberal side on the Tariff question. Such changes of view are not resented, for

everybody knows that man lives and learns, and that an intelligent person modifies his opinions according to such new things as come within his ken. Only an idiot or a fanatic would, come what may, never during his lifetime abandon a once definitely chosen "point of view." What an outcry was raised in Prussia in 1866, when Bismarck went over from the Conservatives to join the Liberals on the question of federation; and when, in 1878, he turned from the Liberals to the Conservatives over the question of protection! "The traitor!" Such talk only shows that, where politics are concerned, the Germans still are more theoretical pedants than practical business men. Personally, the moment in which I ceased to modify my convictions in harmony with new experiences, I would be convinced that my brain was beginning to lose its freshness and elasticity.

The Labour party which, as I said, has grown more and more prominent during the last few years, should not be compared with our Social Democratic party. It is neither communistic, nor is it republican, but it

works for the representation of Labour interests on the existing social and political bases. Its organization is based on the Trade Unions, which, at the time of writing, possess 1,922,980 members, and, therefore, represent an immense political power. It is to these principally that the English workman owes his favourable position towards the capitalist. They have carried the weekly 54 working hours in the factories; they have laid down the maximum amount of work permitted in the several trades; they fix the minimum wage, and decree the strikes. The maximum amount of work means, that no workman may do more than a certain amount of work for a certain daily or hourly wage. Thus a bricklayer must not lay more than 720 bricks a day, although capable of doing double or three times this amount of work. The notion is that the strong shall not make existence difficult for the weak. If a contractor wishes to engage workmen, he has to apply to the Trades Union concerned; should he seek for men outside it, no member of any Trades Union is allowed to work for him. For instance, a short time ago all the work-

men engaged on a building here struck simultaneously—masons, carpenters, turners, glaziers, carmen, etc.—because one of tho horses used was shod by a smith who did not belong to a Trades Union. At the office of the Trades Union lies a list of unemployed workmen, and these are passed on to the employer, not according to his personal choice, but *in order of rotation*, such order being settled by the date on which they have inscribed themselves as out of work in the books of the Trades Union. Thus each member, in his regular turn, gets work again, and is quite independent of the goodwill and the whims of an employer.

All this is of course not particularly to the liking of the capitalist, and is surely one of the reasons for the decline of British exports. But still one must admit that this system robs the position of the working man of much of its often brutal harshness as decreed by the "iron rule of supply and demand." When one adds that out of their funds the unions pay 25 per cent. of his wages to the unemployed member during the time he is out of work, one will be able to judge what

a blessing these represent to the great masses of the population. In the political life of Great Britain the Trades Unions can bring thousands to the polling booths, and thus, in the interests of the lower orders, exercise a strong influence on the laws which govern labour; for the two great parties naturally try to secure their support for themselves. In Australia we know that this year the Labour party secured the helm of State itself.

Highly interesting is a general election in this country. The whole strategy must naturally be directed towards influencing public opinion in favour of one or the other side. Therefore, above everything else, an attractive party "cry" or watchword is necessary. The old names, Conservative and Liberal, if taken in the continental sense, in no way distinguish the two opposing programmes. It is true that the Conservatives include the upper classes generally and the Church of England; but the brewers, the drink sellers, and, above all, the City of London are on the same side. The Liberals rely on the Nonconformists or Dissenters,

and are perpetually endeavouring to win the masses of labouring men, who, however, as we have seen, are more and more inclined to organise themselves independently. Gladstone wished "to lead the masses against the classes." But if one looks over the results of the elections of 1895 and 1900 one does not find his party has succeeded in capturing the masses.

Briefly said, since Disraeli's leadership the Conservatives have worked for the embodiment of the imperialistic idea and a strong foreign policy; whilst the Liberals have turned their chief attention towards internal reforms, suffrage reforms, school reforms, reforms in the licensing laws, etc. The one party is for a strong army and a powerful fleet as well as for alliances with foreign powers, for a policy of expansion, and, if necessary, a warlike policy generally; the other party wishes to reduce the public expenditure as much as is possible, would like to live at peace with all the world, and to meddle no more than absolutely necessary in foreign politics. The one side is jeeringly called "Jingoes," the other is des-

cribed by its opponents as "Little Englanders." The Liberals are the representatives of a sentimental cosmopolitanism; they include apostles of perpetual peace, vegetarians and woman's rights; fanatics follow their flag. They forget that a "Little England" is quite impossible in the twentieth century, that British policy must be world-policy or no policy at all, because the domestic economy of Great Britain is founded on an economy that embraces the entire globe. An England lopped of its oversea "Empire" could not even feed one half of its population, and would be, politically speaking, a third-class power.

Mr. Chamberlain, among living statesmen, has grasped this fact the most acutely, and he is the leader of the actual Jingo party in this country. The federation of all the scattered regions flying the Union Jack into one great British world-empire is the aim of his policy. A consideration of the politics of Great Britain cannot omit a short account of the so-called Chamberlain movement. For it forms the storm-centre of the struggle between the great parties of to-day.

Mr. Chamberlain knows that the first step towards Empire is a customs' union, the second a common army and navy. Without a customs' union, an empire foregoes its essential characteristic as a State, and remains a mere name. Therefore, the creation of a pan-Britannic Zollverein, between the mother-country, the colonies, and dependencies, is the chief aim of his policy. Unfortunately, at present this lies outside the range of practical politics, and therefore Mr. Chamberlain took as the starting point in his movement the decline in British exports as compared with imports, wishing to remedy this state of affairs by protective duties levied against foreign competition, combined with a preferential tariff in the Colonies for British-made goods. Thus he declared war on the traditional British policy of Free Trade.

He has succeeded in engaging the Conservative party under Mr. Balfour's leadership for this programme to the extent of "retaliation" against foreign tariffs—that is to say, protection for certain branches of home industries. The Conservative party leaders, however, are not agreed on the introduction

of a differential tariff in favour of the Colonies and dependencies, and that because a preferential treatment of the Colonies is only possible through a taxation of imported food, and eventually of raw materials used in manufactures. For so far, this is all that the Colonies produce, and, as long as these imports are brought in free of duty, as at present, England can naturally give the Colonies no preference in this field as against other countries. Otherwise she would have to grant a bonus on the importation of colonial produce, a course which public opinion renders impossible. If, however, one does not give the Colonies certain advantages on this side, one cannot expect them to allow a preferential rate on English-made goods. For the complete independence of the Colonies in the matter of customs is one of the first elements of British colonial policy.

Now one must admit that, seeing the peculiar position in which the English are placed by their domestic economy, which relies entirely on the outside world for most of its means of subsistence, it is easy to understand this hesitancy in the taxation of food

and raw material, in so far as they come from abroad. Lord Goschen expressed it when he said in the House of Lords: "This is a gamble with the food of the people." The weakness of the English parliamentary system is again shown in this matter, seeing that the last word is left entirely to public opinion. It is difficult to convince the masses that they ought to tax their own food; that is to say, increase the cost of living to further a truly magnificent political ideal. Prince Bismarck could do this in a practically agricultural country like Germany, in which 43 per cent. of the electorate even profited by such a measure. We have seen, however, how small in numbers are the farming classes of Great Britain, who, in the end, could favour such a policy at the voting booths.

Mr. Chamberlain, therefore, had so to frame his programme that the working-class voters with whom the decision rests are offered direct prospective advantages. This was rendered possible in that the system in force, leading as it did to declining trade returns, threatened the

working classes with the great danger of becoming entirely unemployed. If British industry goes the way that agriculture has taken, if factory after factory has to close, the working man in the end will be unable to profit by food, however cheap, because, more and more, he is losing the possibility of being able to earn the price even of the cheapest food. But one can understand that it is extremely difficult to make so distant a danger clear to the great masses and use it as an actual argument in the political fight; and here lies the weak spot of the Chamberlain agitation.

For the Liberals can meet it with an immediate retort, pointing in detail to the weekly expenditure of the "small man," while they absolutely refuse to entertain the general statements of the tariff reformers. Thus they have found in Mr. Chamberlain's programme the best election cry that they have had for years; a watchword which the broad masses of the people can understand and are ready to uphold. The "little loaf," with which Mr. Chamberlain's customs policy threatens them, is a wonderfully simple argu-

ment, which appeals at once to "the man in the street."

On this cry, therefore, the divided groups of the Opposition have united, and on this point the next elections will be fought. We have, of course, gone through all this in Germany, and I need not explain it any further. The only difference is that Mr. Chamberlain cannot fall back on such reserve forces as the Union of Farmers and the Peasants' Unions, which supported the Bismarckian reforms. What Mr. Chaplin, the representative of these classes in England, offers him does not help him much. The agricultural classes who should support his tariff policy live in Canada, Australia, and other Colonies, and do not count in the elections.

In my last chapter I will revert to the imperial aspects of this great question, which, at the moment, is the chief matter of public interest in England. Here I am concerned with its purely political significance; and thus viewed, my readers will learn something of the political system of Great Britain generally.

When Mr. Chamberlain, who until then had been regarded as one of the chief sup-

porters of Free Trade, suddenly raised the banner of protective tariffs in May, 1903, he caused a general upheaval in the parliamentary situation, just as was the case in 1885, when Mr. Gladstone laid the Irish Home Rule question between the two parties. Just as the Liberal Unionists of that time, led by the Duke of Devonshire and Mr. Chamberlain, seceded from Mr. Gladstone's leadership and went over to the Conservative party, so the "fiscal question" of 1903 has led to the defection of the "free fooders," who, under the Duke of Devonshire, Sir Michael Hicks Beach, Lord Goschen, and Mr. Ritchie, have withdrawn from the body of the Unionist party and allied themselves in the defence of Free Trade with the Liberals under Lord Rosebery and Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman. How this led to the split of Mr. Balfour's first cabinet, who, in view of his own middle course on the tariff question (the so-called "half-way house"), had to reconstruct his ministry, is fresh in the memory of my readers. To-day the position stands thus: the majority of the Conservatives still follow Mr. Balfour, but Mr. Cham-

berlain is backed by about 200 votes from the Unionist coalition in Parliament, while the Conservative Free Traders number about 60 members. Mr. Chamberlain, therefore, holds the fate of the Balfour Cabinet, to which he no longer belongs, in his hands. If he so desires, he can force a dissolution of Parliament and a general election at any moment.

My readers will see from this how uncertain English party conditions are. Every new great political question reshuffles them, and then the leading personalities do a *chassé croisé*. Thus the tariff question has suddenly led the Duke of Devonshire and Mr. Chamberlain, whom the Home Rule question had united intimately for sixteen years, into two opposed political camps. This is, generally speaking, very characteristic of the political system in this country.

Although these struggles of the two parties involve the actual government of the greatest Empire known to history, although the stakes at issue are, compared with Germany, immeasurably larger; yet for all that the contest is fought out with an objective calmness and a measured urbanity worthy of admira-

tion. It is true that, in addition to material arguments, sarcasm plays a great part in parliamentary debate as in public meetings. But the bounds of pleasing good humour are seldom surpassed, and it never degenerates into the vulgar tactics of personal abuse and base calumnies that so often figure in German political life. "Fair play," even against the enemy, is taken as a matter of course, and a statesman, who tried to fight with poisoned weapons, would soon have to clear out here.

It is true that the Irish contingent in the House occasionally strike the coarse note of continental assemblies; but, generally speaking, the discussions move in a channel of stately politeness. In public meetings also rowdyism is not so pronounced here as with us. Although the audience makes itself heard in the course of the speeches with more liveliness than we are accustomed to, by expressions of applause or the reverse, by cries of all kinds, still, *audiatur et altera pars* is a law that is generally honoured. The discussions in Parliament have a more sober and business-like character than those of the French and our

own assemblies, where most of the speeches are spoken "to the gallery," viz., to the country generally. Naturally that happens here at times too, but very rarely. The political leaders reserve their programme speeches mostly for great extra-parliamentary meetings. This is the reason why one finds less political wisdom in English parliamentary speeches than one would expect from so highly developed a political nation. But perhaps, herein they show the greatest wisdom.

The House of Commons itself presents a peculiar picture, and makes a really strange impression on the foreigner. The leaders sit on the "front benches" (the Government to the right, the Opposition to the left); most of the members stand; all have their hats on. All visitors present in the galleries, however, must be bareheaded. The parties are kept up to the mark by the "Whips." These also drive the members of their party into the division lobbies. This is most important, for every division over a weighty question, as, for instance, the Speech from the Throne, or the Budget, or a new Bill, decides the fate of the Government in power. If through the

chance absence of its supporters a Government is defeated only once by a single vote, it must resign, however strong its majority. The strategy of the Opposition is, therefore, continually directed towards producing such a situation. To ensure this, questions are continually asked and amendments proposed. In the spring session of 1904 the Opposition tried again and again to place itself between Mr. Balfour and Mr. Chamberlain over their diverging views on the tariff question, so as to bring about a general election.

The material provided by Parliament is then used as a "cry" throughout the country. A programme on this base is then drawn up in short and striking phrases typical of English political contests. Mr. Chamberlain's tariff reform is the "small loaf policy"; the Chinese labour policy of the Government in the Transvaal made the Liberals bring out the old "no slavery" cry; the representatives of a policy of compromise in South Africa during the Boer war were "Pro-Boers"; and the general election of 1900, on the Government's South African

policy, was the "khaki election" (so-called after the colour of the British Service uniform). Lord Beaconsfield's Eastern policy of 1878 was "peace with honour"; Mr. Chamberlain's original social policy, "three acres to a cow"; the movement in favour of universal suffrage demands "one man one vote"; the party in favour of a gold standard the call for "sound money." "Free Trade" is opposed to "Fair Trade"; army reform is called "efficiency," and so on. This is characteristic of the whole of the public life of this country.

To the machinery for influencing public opinion belong, in addition to the select meetings in which the leading statesmen make political speeches, and for which seats are often sold at one or two guineas also the mass-meetings in the open, and the processions organised by certain leaders. Great questions cause many thousands to assemble—in Hyde Park, for instance, or in Trafalgar Square. To these spots, then, move the monster processions, with great banners on which the different "watchwords" are displayed, and accompanied by bands of

music. On the site chosen for the meetings rude platforms are erected, or, perhaps, only vans are driven up, from which elevations the different speakers, often twenty-five to thirty of them speaking simultaneously, harangue the multitudes. Often the processions carry very humorous emblems; for example, in the spring a Liberal monster procession, met to protest against Mr. Chamberlain's programme, carried a little loaf on a pike, while behind it was carried a black coffin, in which the big loaf lay interred.

The elections themselves no longer move on the lines that Dickens has immortalised in "The Pickwick Papers," and Thackeray in "The Newcomes." For all that, processions with music and flags still play a larger part in them than with us in Germany; and once more the epigrammatic watchword is in the foreground; *e.g.*:

VOTE FOR BAKER
And FREE FOOD!!
VOTE FOR SMITH
And NO CHINESE LABOUR!!
VOTE FOR JONES
And TEMPERANCE!

and so on.

Beer and whiskey, also, still continue to play their parts, although the election agents must be very careful not to come into conflict with the law, which fixes a maximum sum allowed for electioneering expenses and threatens the validity of the election, should this be exceeded.

The party machinery by which agitation is carried on throughout the country is splendid. The Anglo-Saxon is, as we have seen, through his self-confident and abrupt nature, no very favourable material for organisations *par ordre de mufti*, decreed from above; but his common sense makes him very capable of building up organisations, starting at the base and going upwards. Here his leading trait, a greater inclination to accentuate points of contact than points of difference—just the opposite of the German—stands him in good stead. Among such political organisations, I will instance the Primrose League, the instrument of the Conservative party, which carries on its work in every town, yes, in every village. The Primrose League has 1,600,000 members and is organised with the utmost

subtlety, so as to procure both money and votes. With this stands in support of the Unionist Government of to-day, the Liberal Unionist Association, as well as Mr. Chamberlain's "Birmingham Caucus," a small but extremely effective organisation of the genial agitator. Lord Rosebery, with Mr. Asquith, Sir Edward Grey, Sir Henry Fowler and others, as representatives of the Moderate Liberals, are backed by the Imperial Liberal League; the great masses of the Liberals are served by the National Liberal League; while, as we saw, the Labour party relies on the Trade Unions for its political propaganda. Mr. Chamberlain has founded the Tariff Reform League in support of his tariff policy. The Irish party, on the other hand, agitates by means of the United Irish League of Great Britain. Side by side with these mighty organisations the political clubs take an active part in the fray by arranging debates as well as by the collection of funds. Among many thousands, I will only mention the two Carlton Clubs, and the two Constitutional Clubs on the Conservative side;

the National Liberal Club for the Moderate Liberals; the Cobden Club for the Free Trade movement; the Liberal Unionist Club in support of Mr. Chamberlain's policy; and so they go on.

Naturally the chief weapon of the various parties is the Press. The Press plays a part in Great Britain that can be likened to its mission in no other European country. Here, where public opinion has the last word in all political questions, the daily papers must naturally have a proportionate influence. Everybody reads his newspaper in England, nay generally two, a morning and an evening paper. It is very amusing to watch in passing trains, how almost every passenger has his face buried in his paper. The sale of newspapers in the streets is carried on to an extent inconceivable by the dweller on the Continent. The actual subscription to a newspaper, as we understand it, hardly occurs here. Everybody buys his paper at railway stations and street corners, or he has it delivered every morning at his house by a stationer, and so he can change about as often as he likes.

Editors of newspapers, therefore, cannot, as in Germany, count on a fixed number of subscribers, but they have to rely on single sales, and these depend entirely on the contents. The public buys those papers which have the most reliable and quickest news service and which understand how to present their wares in the most palatable form. The news service of the English Press, therefore, is developed to a remarkable degree; they are served by special correspondents which the great newspapers are in the habit of keeping abroad; and, in addition, by a number of news agencies. The best known among these are: Reuter's Bureau, the Central News, Exchange Telegraph Co., Laffan's Agency, Dalziel's, Central Press, London News Agency, Press Association and National Press Agency. Without question the best foreign correspondence of any newspaper in the world is that of *The Times*, not only as regards politics, but also in respect to general culture, discoveries, archæology, etc. The single page of *The Times* on which the "Latest Intelligence" appears costs £80,000 a year, quite

apart from the special correspondence on certain events. For instance, the Russo-Japanese war alone, to which they have sent a special steamship fitted with wireless telegraphy, costs *The Times* in 1904 at least £50,000.

But also the *Standard, Daily Telegraph, Daily News, Daily Chronicle, Morning Post, Daily Mail, Daily Express, Morning Leader;* in short, all the actual morning papers, are well served as regards news. Each tries to outdo the other in correctness and promptitude. The sluggard system of "if not to-day, then to-morrow," so common among our journals, does not exist here. Copying paragraphs from other papers, as is the custom in Germany, does not occur here. In England the chief qualifications for an editor are not a deft use of the scissors and the paste-pot.

Next to the news, the leading article still figures as an important item in the great newspapers; while the smaller papers are more and more inclined to express the editorial side in short—"saucy" is the word—paragraphs, on the American pattern.

The sale of a paper depends, as I said, chiefly on the freshness of its news. Therefore, morning papers cease to be bought by noon, and the afternoon papers towards evening. Thus has arisen a peculiar system of newspaper editions, governed by the hour. About 10 o'clock, on the heels of the great morning papers, come the little half-penny papers, which are practically based on the morning's news, but, at the same time, contain the latest telegrams from the agencies. I mean the *Echo, Sun, Evening News* and *Star*. Then, from about mid-day onwards, the great evening papers appear: The *Pall Mall Gazette, Globe, St. James's Gazette, Evening Standard, Westminster Gazette*. The *Evening Standard* has seven consecutive editions during the afternoon, and at about seven o'clock it puts a finish to the issue of the great daily Press of London, with a "special"; while the smaller evening papers continue to issue further "editions" sometimes till about 11 p.m. The daily Press appears every day except Sundays. On Sundays it is replaced by the Sunday papers: *The Observer,*

The Sunday Times and *Sunday Special*, *Lloyd's Weekly*, *The People*, *News of the World*, *The Referee*, etc.

In making this enumeration I have chiefly in view the London Press, with which I am best acquainted. Side by side with it exists a high class provincial Press, run on the same lines. Newspapers like the *Glasgow Herald*, *Manchester Guardian*, *Scotsman*, *Birmingham Daily Post*, *Mail and Gazette*, *Leeds Mercury*, the *Daily Express and Irish Times* of Dublin, *Liverpool Courier*, *Yorkshire Herald*, etc., are well worthy of their London patterns.

A special class of newspapers is formed by the so-called City Press, which deals exclusively with business and more particularly with the Stock Exchange. Only in part does this class of paper belong to the region of honest journalism. The *Financial Times*, *Financial News*, *Financial World*, *Statist*, *Capitalist*, *Investor's Review* and others which I could name, command respect; and many specialist journals, like the *African Review* and the *African World*, also enjoy general esteem. Broadly speaking, however,

we are here not far from the borders of the reptile Press. Against payment, enterprises are "puffed," praised to the skies, or, what is still worse, companies which are above such methods of bribery, are "run down." This is done with cynical openness, and in every great City trial, transactions of this kind are brought to light. The real victim is the gullible reader, who is induced to conduct his Stock Exchange operations according to the advice given in these sheets.

The German Press in London naturally stands outside the actual political whirl of English party politics. It consists of the *Finanz-Chronik*, an ably conducted City organ, and the *Deutsche Zeitung Hermann*, likewise a weekly. If one can speak of a tendency in connection with these two papers, it would be in the direction of promoting a good understanding between Germany and Great Britain.

The English illustrated Press has reached a high degree of perfection. The *Daily Graphic*, an illustrated morning paper, which gives us the events of the previous day

pictorially and verbally, is remarkable for the rapidity of its reproductions. The events of the previous night are rendered pictorially by the morning. The same thing is done more artistically by many of the weekly journals. The *Graphic* and *Illustrated London News* have met with several at least good competitors during the last ten years. The *Sphere, Black and White,* and *Sketch* are some of the best of these. Among the comic papers, *Punch* is still at the top. It unites political satire with social good humour. and represents something like a combination of *Kladderadatsch* and *Fliegende Blätter.* Behind *Punch* are a legion of other more or less comic papers, among which I will only mention *Judy, Tit-bits* and *Ally Sloper* by name.

The monthly illustrated magazines are, from a German point of view, inferior to the journals already considered, although they give you a tremendous lot for your money (sixpence is the usual price). The "short story" is their chief stand-by. It is seldom of any poetical or artistic value, and, as a rule, flat with a trivial motive. Among

this class the *Strand Magazine* and *Pearson's Monthly* take the lead; but even these seldom contain anything of merit. Nothing gives me a clearer impression of the shallowness of modern English society, than the character of this magazine literature; which provides for many millions of Englishmen the sole spiritual nourishment, if we omit the sporting and society papers. Later on I will return to this theme. Here we have undoubtedly a symptom of decadence. Now and then men like Sir Conan Doyle, Rudyard Kipling, or H. G. Wells, write a good story, but the blight which has fallen on the whole literary taste in this country affects them as well. Everything has to be brief and as sensational as possible, and mostly and only too often the stuff degenerates into a tasteless and extravagant hotch-potch. Either we are treated to ghost stories, or stories of thieves, criminals and detectives, or, as with Wells, Jules Verne out-Verned. In this species of journalism, modern Theosophy, with its mystery and superstition, plays a great part. Low grade humour, in itself an inferior *genre*, still manages to

make a decent show. The whole, however, is superficial, and that intentionally, for the average Englishman no longer cares to read anything else.

Side by side with these, the more serious public find admittedly good and excellently conducted reviews. The *Fortnightly Review*, *Contemporary Review*, *Blackwood*, *Nineteenth Century and After*, *National Review*, the *Athenæum*, *Edinburgh Review*, *Quarterly Review* and *New Century Review*, take rank at least with our best magazine literature. Worthily represented also are special professions or societies by such journals as *The Lancet* (the chief organ of the medical profession), the *Law Times*, *The Lawyer* and *Law Journal*; the several geographical periodicals, e.g., *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Societies in England and Scotland*, being first-class. Spirited is Stead's *Review of Reviews* and the masterly weekly of T. P. O'Connor, *M. A. P.* (Mainly About People). I can only outline the legion of sporting magazines. Every sport has its special organ, just as with us; only sport

occupies a far larger place in the life of the English people than in Germany.

But I will not tire my readers with further catalogues.

If I wish to summarise my opinion on the English Press as a whole, I must declare that it is distinguished by the value it attaches to the getting of exact news. In this it excels the newspapers of any other country. A second advantage is the quiet aloofness which characterises its conduct in all personal questions. Party warfare in the Press is chiefly conducted by means of material arguments, never with personalities or even calumnies. This state of affairs undoubtedly owes much to the English Press laws, which exact exceptionally high damages for libel. Some of my readers will no doubt be able to recollect how, on account of an article which appeared in its pages, *The Times* was sentenced by an English jury to pay Parnell, the leader of the Irish party, £100,000 damages, in addition to the costs of the trial. This is not an isolated instance, and the newspapers are very careful not to indulge in libellous statements. To this may

also be added the principle: "the greater the truth, the greater the libel." A newspaper has not even the right to disclose discreditable facts about a person's private life though it can prove the truth of its statements. The Teutonic legal code, which obtains in England, protects personal honour equally with life and property. The Roman code, which we have, only recognises the value of life and property. Here, also, the law is assisted by the Englishman's innate sense of fair play, which I regard as his peculiar political virtue. Even if the law did not require it, he would not go beyond common fairness in so shameless a manner, as has happened to myself in Germany thousands of times. That one can deprive a man of his honour in a newspaper, and then even deny him the right to answer the charges made against him, as is done in Germany, could not, I think, occur in England at all. It is true that in Germany we have paragraph 11 of the Penal Code, which enacts the publication of substantial facts by a paper. But we all know how useless is this safeguard against a news-

paper which clothes its substantiatory declaration with new distortions. In England, on the other hand, it is considered proper to let the *audiatur et altera pars* come clear and unhindered to the light of day.

In this direction, Germany has everything to learn from England; and, only when it has done this, will a sound public life have been reached by us as well. The opposition will cry out: "But the English Press is so untrustworthy, where the national interests of Great Britain are concerned; so unscrupulous towards foreign nations!" This is unquestionably the case, and the foreign news-service that it controls, is not the least of its weapons in the struggle for supremacy, as I myself have often found to my cost. But I ask, "What is nobler, for a nation to show an undivided front to the foreigner and to sacrifice no single fellow-countryman to foreign interests, or to trample on its own people and while doing this, even to side with the foreigner in case of a dispute? Certainly the English system is the more successful in the race for national supremacy. I,

personally, must also declare, that, even in cases where national interests have been involved, the English Press has never treated me in so scurvy a manner as that of my own country, for which I was working.

The cancer in our German newspaper system is the anonymous contribution. Here in England the same thing occurs, but an anonymous attack on a person is considered "cowardly," and has no influence whatever on public opinion. Generally speaking, it is considered only decent to put one's name to a criticism levelled against someone else. This is an enormous safeguard against the shameless abuse of the freedom of the Press, an abuse which is of daily occurrence in Germany. However much they may differ in their aims, in this lack of all scruple and decency with regard to adversaries, semi-official and social democratic journalists in Germany are all alike, and, generally speaking, there are very few honourable exceptions amongst our newspapers. In Germany one is always talking about "*Deutsche Tugend, Deutsche Treue*" and "unsere weltpolitischen Ziele." One should begin by learning

that all national greatness is founded on the simple, manly virtue of fair play towards one's own fellow-countrymen, and that a world-wide policy is only possible to a nation whose politics are ruled by the law of live and let live. In this respect, Great Britain is the shining example for the whole world.

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The influence of the English Press on the broad masses of the people rests largely on the cheap prices of the newspapers and the large circulations that are consequently possible. *The Times*, it is true, still costs threepence. But at this price it offers from 16 to 20 large pages with a mass of contents that can be obtained nowhere else. I have read *The Times* regularly for eight years and can say that, in the real sense of the word, it is a general compendium of the whole of contemporary history. The other great morning papers, the Conservative *Standard*, *Morning Post* and *Daily Telegraph*, are in contents not far short of *The Times*, but only cost a penny. The Liberal *Daily Chronicle* and *Daily News*, as well as the

Daily Mail and *Daily Express*, also large and excellently conducted morning papers, of mostly eight to twelve pages, only cost a halfpenny. During the daytime the halfpenny press is the most prominent. Among evening papers only the *Pall Mall Gazette*, *Evening Standard*, *St. James's*, *Globe*, all Conservative, and the brilliantly conducted Liberal *Westminster Gazette*, cost a penny.

The weekly and monthly journals too are, generally speaking, cheaper than ours. A penny is a very usual charge for a weekly, and where it is raised to fourpence for the monthly magazines, as with the *London* or *Royal*, or to sixpence, as with the *Strand*, *Pearson's* and several others, there is a proportionate increase in the scope and production. I am not speaking of the contents here, but of what is offered externally —number of pages, type, paper, illustrations. In all these, English journalism is ahead of that on the Continent.

In order to produce these journals a wide circulation is needed and an extraordinary number of paid advertisements, the chief source of a paper's income. Circulations of

one to one-and-a-quarter million are, it is true, rare even in England, but, for all that, they occur; and, as a rule, circulations here are far in advance of anything that we can show. To increase these, use is made, as in any other English business, of certain methods of advertisement which are original and often grotesque. The giant pōsters displayed on walls and scaffoldings, as well as the attractive wording of the "bills," which are cried from early morning to late at night in the streets, are early-Franconian and trivial. Competition results in all kinds of new and attractive ideas. A paper which started operations at the beginning of 1904, the *Daily Paper*, sent up balloons which showered millions of handbills over London every afternoon. Cheques, however, were mixed with the handbills, which gave the lucky finders the right to claim a certain sum of money. The *Daily Express* sent a young lady, of whom an exact description was given, through the town. Anybody who had a copy of that day's issue of the *Daily Express*, and could discover the identity of this young lady, be it in the street, restaurant, or anywhere else,

could claim £200 from the office of the paper. Everybody bought the *Daily Express*, till the lady was discovered. Again, other papers hid vouchers for money payments in public places, to be honoured on the finder being able to show that he was in possession of a current issue of the journal in question at the time of his discovery. Naturally hundreds of thousands invested the necessary half-penny that could procure them such expectations. Thus in countless forms the game proceeds, the innate gambling craze of the Englishman forming the keynote. A paper with a great circulation will be extensively used as an advertising medium by the public; and herein lies the actual profit for the proprietor.

Thus it is that the English Press is the chief engine for the distribution of opinions and for influencing the public will; and with it also the chief weapon in the struggle of the political parties. The whole English political system is based on full publicity in home politics, as ultimately in the foreign policy of the country. Thence, in certain cases, its weakness. States under

an absolute government, like Russia and Germany, have certain advantages in the international game of mine and countermine. But, on the other hand, in this publicity lies a great guarantee for a sound control. Above all, it forms a strong safety valve through which discontent and disaffection are continually able to escape without doing harm and without there being any danger of formidable explosions. If the modern revolutionary tendency is either absolutely tame or completely absent in England, the reason for this is chiefly to be found in the broad principles of British social life but also, in a large measure, in the continual relief of pressure afforded by public discussion. It is like the corposant that plays round lightning-conductors and sets aside the danger of severe conflagrations.

I will not say that this political system of Great Britain is worthy of emulation by us or any other nation. That I do not believe; every people must shape its own political system organically out of the depths of its own national character; and, for modern

Germany, the parliamentary system, as historically developed by Great Britain, is apparently unsuited. We are not a political, but a military nation, and the limited military dictatorship of the Hohenzollerns, as we possess it, is, apparently, the form of government that suits us best. But this much I would like to assert: that the political system of the Anglo-Saxon in our modern historical epoch is seemingly the most suitable soil for the creation and growth of new communities overseas; that is to say, for a live colonial policy. Just because it continually calls for the co-operation of every individual, and, therefore, develops in every Briton the sense of a common responsibility for the course of public events, bringing out the manly virtues which enable the Anglo-Saxon to unite in the founding of new States in every zone of our planet, and that independently of State protection or initiative. One complains so often, that the German does not possess the sense of individual responsibility to the same degree as the Englishman. But how can he attain to this when, actually, he has no voice in the conduct of the affairs of

his country? To the Briton the State is the common property of every subject, a source of pride to all, whose advantages are shared by everybody. In Germany the advantages that the State has to offer are still the property of a few privileged classes, and for the masses it is still what it was a hundred years ago—chiefly an institution which imposes a burden: the "fiscal screw."

With reference to the relationship between the individual and the State, the analogy, as I before remarked, between Republican Rome and Great Britain is apposite. It finds expression in the same significance attaching to the Latin *res publica* and the Anglo-Saxon "commonwealth." These identical descriptions of the whole State as a common possession are characteristic of the two greatest dominant races in history; and surely the secret of this conception of the relationship of the individual citizen and the State—the all for one and the one for all—is the deepest reason for the external greatness of both empires. For, where such a conception penetrates the thought and feeling, the inmost life of a nation, there patriotism ceases

to be a bare duty and becomes an individual need. Self-interest and common interest are then united, because they have become identical.

In Great Britain, as in ancient Rome, the furtherance of the common welfare brings its immediate reward; to belong to this world-empire is in itself a material advantage. Wherefore the theoretical warning: "Remember that you are a German," becomes meaningless here—the Englishman cannot understand any such sentiment as "Remember that you are an Englishman!" Or, "*An's Vaterland, an's teure, schliess dich an*" (To the Fatherland, the dear Fatherland, hold fast!). What else should one do! Never and nowhere on earth have I ever met a Briton whom one had to remind of his origin. To pretend to be a foreigner—even the meanest beggar on the streets, and even if he had spent half a century in a foreign country, would scout such an idea, as though one thought him capable of declaring himself a gorilla or chimpanzee. "I am English" is still for this race the proudest expression of individual consciousness.

Herein lies the real secret of the Anglo-Saxon's power of expansion; for such a national pride must appeal to every foreigner who comes into contact with it. It is the reason that North America speaks English, although the Anglo-Saxon strain over there is by far in a minority. It is the reason why the strong tide of foreign immigration which continually pours into Great Britain is completely Anglicised by the time the second generation is reached. It is the chief motive power for the growth and spread of this world-empire in all the five continents.

It is the same trait in the English character which only allows those who have served the commonalty honourably and successfully, to attain to political influence in this country. Only by way of patriotism does one reach the road that leads to esteem and power here.

The English have not even a word for what we call "*Strebertum.*" Therefore, England's leading ministers are also, as a rule, her best statesmen, and if administrators of commanding ability are, without exception, at the head of her great dominions oversea—the Lord Cromers, Lord Curzons, Lord

Milners, etc.—the reason for this lies also in the fact that in the public political life of England a strong natural sifting of personalities is engendered, and more than elsewhere an opportunity occurs for the best to come to the front.

The unbiassed observer must, therefore, say that the principles of the English political system are essentially sound. It is based on the old manly virtues of self-help and fairness; and if the tree which has sprung from such roots cannot always escape malformations and sicknesses, still there is no need to despair of its life as long as the roots themselves are not affected. Taken as a whole, the British Empire, from sea to sea, still presents the picture of a live and energetic development.

CHAPTER VI.

ARMY AND NAVY.

THE military system of Great Britain may be said to represent the defects of the national qualities. It is evident that a people, in which the proclivities for individual independence and the aversion to compulsion have reached such a state of development as amongst the English, are hardly the material from which a large organised army can be constructed. This love of freedom is the root of the great political qualification of this race, and it proves on the other hand the main obstacle to the creation of an army on the modern basis of universal compulsory service.

For discipline is founded on the capacity of each unit, not to co-ordinate, but to sub-ordinate his individuality, to become a

mere screw in the engine if the machinery is to work. And to this the Englishman objects; he is ready to obey where and when he deems it necessary, but he is not going to surrender his individuality once and for all to a superior mind. This logical contrast between spontaneity and military discipline, as known amongst us, can in no way be bridged over; England can either remain the country of individualism in State and business, or else it can adopt Prussian militarism with compulsory military service; it can, however, not retain the one and at the same time go in for the other. They are incompatible, and therein lies the weakness of the Anglo-Saxon conception of a State.

Thus we have the anomaly that, amidst peoples armed to the teeth, Great Britain, the only non-military nation, wants to monopolise a World-Empire over the entire planet. Rome lorded it over the world because she also commanded the strongest army then existing. For centuries no power on the orbis terrarum was able to withstand her legions. Great Britain wants to rule the two hemispheres, notwithstanding the

fact that she is the weakest of the modern great Powers from a military standpoint, and her army corps are hardly sufficient for a nation of secondary rank. It is true she holds sway over the sea and thus over the roads leading to the lands on the other side of the ocean, where her flag flies. Yet the great combats in the world's history are ultimately fought on land and with well-organised big battalions. This disparity between political claims and real martial strength has caused thinking statesmen on the Continent, ever since the time of Frederick the Great, to compare their Empire to a castle of cards.

But, however often the collapse of this castle of cards has been prophesied, it has passed through all the crises in the world's history without injury and with renewed strength. Its own shortcomings were more than balanced by deftly playing one group against the other. The European and now the universal balance of power has been the pivot for British foreign policy since William III. Her own army is merely intended to be the pointer in the scales,

leaning towards that combination which best subserves British interests. So they acted in the wars of the Spanish Succession, in the Seven Years' wars, and in the Napoleonic epoch. The same game is now being played in her oscillations between the Triple and Dual Alliances and at the present moment in the far East between Japan and Russia.

If, therefore, we wish to gauge the true value of the British Army, we must not judge it by the standard of our continental position, but in the light of the insular situation of this Colonial Empire. The defence of the British Isles is entrusted on the whole to the safekeeping of the Navy, called the "first line of defence," and to the coast defences: the army being essentially intended for foreign expeditions and occasionally for co-operation with allies in Europe or Asia, in the manner in which it acted under the Dukes of Marlborough and Wellington, and in the last century in the Crimea.

To strain the whole national power in preparation for an attack from beyond the frontiers, such as has been directed over and over again on Germany with her

many neighbouring nations, is not within the practical problems of Great Britain. The "finis Angliae" would be an accomplished fact with the defeat of her Navy without any decisive battle on land; for an adversary in command of the seas could starve the islands into submission.

The present British army is still based on the method which was abolished in Prussia by the Scharnhorst reorganisation in 1807, viz.: the voluntary enlistment system. We feel like being transferred to Berlin under Frederick's regime on meeting every now and then in London with a placard reading: "Recruits for His Majesty's army now wanted." These posters show illustrations of the different regiments in their uniforms, and enumerate in detail the service conditions, with the chances for promotion, pension, and civil employment after the expiration of time of service. Naturally, enlistment leads in modern England, just as it did to the army of the Great Fritz, to a low estimate of soldiering. It is not so long ago since a soldier was barred from many public-houses, and that a respectable

girl objected to being seen walking out in his company. The officers, who are gentlemen, one and all, wear uniforms only when actively employed and appear otherwise in mufti, so that at balls, in parks, theatres and concerts, uniforms are a thing unknown.

It is perfectly true that mainly people enlist who have failed in civil life and its vocations, but it is a mistake to regard them as the dregs of society and outcasts. This idea is fundamentally wrong, for "Tommy Atkins" possesses many good qualities, he is good-natured and brave. I am far from defending the enlistment system as such, but certainly the institution is very valuable in providing elements, which otherwise might sink to the lowest depth, with a profession and the chance of regaining a social footing. I feel quite sure that this is one of the reasons for the tame character of the revolutionary movement in England. The fight for existence loses thereby a great deal of its dire fierceness: between life and despair stands the army as a last resource for hundreds of thousands.

And a soldier's lot is by no means specially

hard. Although he surrenders his social independence, the same may be said of a factory hand and to a greater or lesser degree of everyone who works for his living. He is, moreover, well paid, well fed and decently treated.

The daily pay of a private ranges, according to the regiment which he joins, between 1s. and 1s. 9d., that of a corporal between 1s. 8d. and 2s. 8d., that of a sergeant between 2s. 4d. and 3s. 4d., and that of a sergeant-major between 5s. and 6s.

Men of superior capacity can advance to officer's rank, as is well known. 1,540 such warrant officers were in the army in 1903–4. The daily pay ranges with a lieutenant between 5s. 3d. to 7s. 8d.; with the first lieutenant between 6s. 6d. to 8s. 10d.; the captain, between 11s. 7d. to 13s.; the major, between 13s. 7d. and 18s. 6d.; and with the lieutenant-colonel, between 18s. to 24s. 9d. A general receives £8, and a lieutenant-general, £5 10s. per day.

The men's rations are plentiful, and in the case of the guards startlingly splendid; the barracks are airy and healthy, with

libraries, meeting rooms and playgrounds for all kinds of sports.

The conditions for enlistment are laid down in the Regulations for recruiting, 1903, and need not be given here in detail. For our purpose it suffices to state that a careful medical examination is demanded, and that provision is made to prevent recruiting under the influence of false pretences or by the use of alcohol: thus, no publican may be a recruiting officer. The minimum age varies, according to the various arms of the service, between 18 and 22. After the applicant has been accepted, he passes through a probationary period, after which he binds himself for a specified time, which again differs with the arms, but averages 12 years. His time having expired, he can re-enlist for a further five years and go on until he is 45 years old. If, however, he prefers leaving the service at the end of his term, he receives, providing his conduct was satisfactory, a recommendation for civil employment, with which he may go to the Society for Employment in Civil Life. We see soldiering in England is a pro-

fession similar to that of the Unterofficiere (non-coms.) with us, with that difference, however, that in Engand the profession embraces the very privates themselves who can get married and bring up families on their pay, and offers a prospect for men of special ability to rise to the highest military ranks.

Great Britain spent in 1903–4, a total of £34,500,000 on her army. The standing army of Great Britain and all her dependencies, except India, amounted to 221,561 persons, viz.: 11,661 officers, 20,349 non-commissioned officers, 4,579 bandsmen and 184,972 privates, but was increased for 1904-5 to 227,000. The arms of the service had in 1903–4 the following strengths, viz.: cavalry, 14,271; artillery, 38,903; engineers 10,425; infantry, 119,310; and about 28,000 in other corps. To this must be added the Indian Army, with 74,405 Europeans, 156,870 natives and 16,200 of dependent states, totalling 247,475, so that the grand total of the army at the disposal of the British Government works out at 475,000 men. And this army is to carry out a policy which aims at world rule.

This regular army is supplemented for purposes of Home defence by irregular institutions in the different parts of the Empire. There are 348,000 so-called volunteers under officers on the active list; the militia of 250,000, and 35,000 men in the yeomanry; with 108,000 colonial troops (36,700 in Canada, 25,000 in Australia, 20,000 in New Zealand, etc.), and a few other small contingents, which, however, in reality, figure mostly on paper, and are problematical.

Taken all in all, the British army, considering the amount of money spent on it, is the worst in the world; it is not cheap and bad, but dear and bad. An annual expenditure of over £51,000,000 (as against £28,000,000 in Germany), results in an army, including India and the Colonies, of about 250,000 men for foreign service, 240,000 Indian and black troops, and about 700,000 militia,—men more or less undisciplined and probably useless in modern warfare. For an army of such inferiority England pays nearly twice the amount of the German Army Estimate.

Not only that, but the whole organisation

generally breaks down, whenever a war breaks out. Such an institution as the German General Staff with its Intelligence Department, where every detail is pigeon-holed for reference at a minute's notice, is an unknown factor; the commissariat and hospital service are in a wretched state, as acknowledged in Lord Esher's report: "The War Office system broke down completely during the Crimean campaign, bringing the nation to the verge of disaster, while the experiences of South Africa have shown that the system, in its present form, is not adapted to the requirements of war." The matériel—anyhow the soldiers—are no worse than anywhere else, but the officers do not seem to realise that military service is a serious profession, requiring, like all others, a comprehensive study, and not merely a superior kind of sport. The estimate for 1903–4 appropriates to the entire military education the ridiculous sum of £207,700, to maintain a string of schools and academies such as the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich, The Royal Military Academy at Sandhurst, the Staff College at Camberley,

and others. The principal officers' institutions are the Military Academy at Woolwich, and the military and staff colleges, but the code is superficial, and the British officer does not by any means receive the intellectual equipment vouchsafed to the German officer. Heroism and manly courage are everywhere the fundamental bases upon which the essential qualities of discipline, thorough armament, marksmanship of artillery and infantry, power of endurance, intelligent scouting, and first and foremost tactical and strategical leadership rely.

But in this respect, the outlook is rather gloomy as far as the British Army is concerned. Although men like Roberts and Kitchener hold their own with the most skilful of continental strategists, the whole present system of army organisation is rotten to the core and acknowledged as such by all thinking men of the nation. Reform of the army is the universal cry, and effectiveness the demand in all newspapers and from all platforms.

The progress of such a movement strikes a German observer as comical. When

Scharnhorst and Gneisenau worked at the great Prussian Army Reform, and again when King William, in common with Roon and Moltke, strove to re-organise the Army, they sat in their lonely rooms and gave in serious seclusion the shape to their generative deep thoughts which were afterwards given real practical effect. Here in England, the man in the street discusses the problem, political parties accept it as their programme, and cobblers and tailors propound their ideas on army corps and rules for firing. A committee, presided over by Lord Esher, a man of great capacity, but who never served himself in the army, meets for recommending a novel organisation, and Mr. Jones of the *Times*, Mr. Smith of the *Westminster Gazette* dispute over its adoption. This shows the disadvantages of the parliamentary system in the strongest of lights and the triumph of Prussian methods of conscientious and trained military work. To become Secretary for War in England, it is necessary to be an M.P., and as an officer whilst serving under the colours is ineligible for the House, it is possible in

Great Britain for a merchant or a lawyer, a cobbler or a chimney-sweep to be Secretary for War, but not for a Moltke or a Roon.

Since the Bill of Rights, passed in 1689, the army is subservient to Parliament and not to the Crown, and Parliament has always kept a strict and jealous watch not to be deprived of so dangerous a tool. The fright engendered in the British bosom by Oliver Cromwell's rule of the sword and by the abortive attempt under James II., is still vivid and created rather an aversion to a standing army. Every army estimate laid before Parliament commences: "Whereas the raising or keeping of a standing army within the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland in time of peace, unless it be with the consent of Parliament, is against the Law." This is undoubtedly a safeguard for public liberty, but just as surely not the soundest basis for building up an efficient army.

The report of Lord Esher's Committee will provide the framework for the army reform which the Conservative Government intends to pass before the end of the present

legislative period. Taken as a whole, it represents an endeavour to graft the advantages of the Prussian military system on the constitutional forms of England, but its preface acknowledges that: "Differences of conditions forbid the reproduction of the German system in this country where the responsibility for efficiency and sufficiency of preparations for war rests upon Parliament, and, in a special sense, upon the Prime Minister." This expresses the radical difference between the two systems: The German army is a purely military hierarchy with the Emperor as its supreme head, whilst the English army is an institution arbitrarily created and governed by a Parliament of civilians and their committee. It remains to be seen, whether such basis is compatible with the creation of a modern army of continental style. German military men will be set thinking by the very preamble of Lord Esher's report, according to which the Prime Minister for the time being—*i.e.*, a civilian—shall be the permanent president of the Committee of Defence. Next to him is to be a permanent

secretary, who is responsible to Parliament; then two officers of the navy appointed by the Admiralty, two army officers appointed by the War Office and two Indian officers appointed by the Viceroy of India. As matters stand, such a composition of the Committee is constitutionally required, but the question remains open whether it will be effective. The Committee of Defence is the highest authority in military matters which has to decide on principle all questions relating to defence on land and sea for Europe, India and the Colonies.

The War Office has been transformed on Admiralty lines into a collegiate body, the Secretary of State corresponding to the First Lord of the Admiralty and being assisted by four military and two civilian members.

The separate functions of the officers are :—

1. Military policy in all its branches, War Staff duties and Military History, Intelligence, Mobilisation, Plans of operation, Training.

2. Recruiting, Pay, Discipline, Rewards, Peace Regulations.

3. Supply, Clothing. Remounts, Transports, etc.

4. Armaments and fortifications

The two civil members divide between themselves the following duties :—

1. The Parliamentary Under Secretary of State : Civil Business, other than finances.

2. The Financial Secretary : Finance, Audit, Accounting, Estimates.

Responsibility to Parliament and Crown rests only with the Secretary for War or the Secretary of State who, according to the constitution, can never be a soldier. The system works well in the Admiralty and is now to be tried in the army.

The active command in the army is to be more decentralised. The military administration proper shall be under an Army Council "which shall administrate but not command." The active command is vested in generals, not connected with the War Office, with the title of "General Officers Commanding in Chief." The superior authority is a Central Inspection Department, composed of the Inspector-General of the Forces with special inspectors for the

cavalry, field and horse artillery, garrison artillery, Royal Engineers and mounted infantry.

The report lays special stress upon the organisation of an effective General Staff on the Prussian model. It says, "In Prussia the general staff fell in decay after the peace of 1815, but the events of 1848–1850 led to a complete reconstruction under the presidency of Moltke, and the results in 1866 and 1870–71 were striking." In the opposite direction, the highest English General command proved a failure in the Crimean and the Boer War, 1899–1902. Now the Prussian model is to be copied; a general staff has been appointed, and under his control three departments have been organized; a director of military operations, a second one for matters connected with the staff, and a third one for military education. The officers of the General Staff hold their command, as a rule, for four years, and their selection rests with the Chief of the General Staff. Intelligence and Secret Service are specially insisted upon, these having been woefully at fault during the

last war. In short, as far as purely military organisation is concerned, German methods are adopted with but slight alterations.

I refrain from going into all the details and proposals contained in the report of Lord Esher's Committee. It presents a well-meant and sensible endeavour to break with the present jog-trot principle and to create a more effective fighting machine on the German pattern. But, of course, a mere imitation of the outer forms will do no good unless, at the same time, something of German spirit is instilled into the minds of the persons concerned. What I allude to is some of the strict military discipline, the self-sacrificing assiduity, the conscientious punctuality in every detail, such as redounded to the glory of the Hohenzollern army for more than two centuries. This is the weak point in the Anglo-Saxon character. English manners and English ways of thinking would have to change radically before these virtues can be produced which so little correspond to their natural capacities. Everything here brings to our minds the peculiarities of the old German institutions

which, in 1866, succumbed to Prussian military discipline. Only time can prove whether anything approaching the Prussian military spirit can be evolved on the basis of Anglo-Saxon individualism.

Whilst Lord Esher's Committee took the principal institutions of the German Army as a pattern, the report on the re-organisation of the volunteers and the militia falls back upon the very corner-stone of our military system, viz.: conscription as sole remedy. It demands universal one year's service in England in order to create a defensive mechanism which is not merely a toy. The organisations as at present are hardly of any more use than the German rifle clubs, and they require here no further detailed description because, even in England, they are considered obsolete and out of date.

Lord Salisbury and the Primrose League advocated, beside the organised volunteer corps, the founding of a national union for firing exercise and the "National Rifle Association" came into being. Such drill in target practice has, of course, its ad-

vantages, but German readers need not be told that it is not army routine.

A preliminary practical result of the two reports on army reform is the Bill laid before Parliament by the Secretary for War, Mr. Arnold Forster, on July 14th last. Contrary to the expectations of friend and foe, it recommends a decrease of men instead of an increase; and rightly so, for the reasons heretofore mentioned. For as long as Great Britain commands the sea, it requires no permanent defensive force of such vastness as the standing Continental armies in order to insure the Kingdom from invasion; but let this command of the sea once be lost, and the strongest land force would become useless, because without outside supply England could be starved. On this ground universal conscription finds no place in Mr. Forster's proposals.

But a clear line is drawn between the standing army necessary for holding and defending the possessions beyond the seas, for small foreign expeditions and such, and the organisation under military discipline, consisting at present of volunteers, militia, and

yeomanry. The former remains composed of paid troops, continually maintained on a war footing and fully mobilised; but whilst the strength of the army is reduced, the time for service is extended, both in order to meet the recruiting difficulty and to avoid compulsory service.

The secondary force is a reserve, only to be called out in case of a great European war, and its organisation is to follow the main line of the great Continental armies; *i.e.* the idea of giving a short military training to civilians as against the professional soldiers, with the German "Reservisten" system, is to be carried into practice. Here likewise the groups divided at present in volunteers, militia and yeomanry, are to be decreased in strength and more uniformly organised.

Briefly stated, Mr. Forster wants to divide the British army in two classes, viz. :—

1. The General Service Army, to be constructed from the present standing army, and

2. The Home Service Army, stationed in England in times of peace, but available for

foreign service in case of a great war. The period for serving with the colours is for the first long and for the second short, in fact, just sufficient to train volunteers into efficient reserve men.

The fundamentary idea of this plan is perfectly sound and meets the national requirements of this Ocean-bound State. It is superfluous to deal with details, for so far it is only a project which will be considerably modified before passing into law.

We notice that the Conservative Government wishes to provide Great Britain with an improved modern fighting force without resorting to compulsory service. Although conscription would once for all overcome the ever-increasing difficulty of sufficient enlistment, we can easily understand that British statesmen shrink from even seriously considering it.

For were England to set up conscription her national characteristics which differ so essentially from those of the Continent would in the main be lost. The independent spirit of the individual, to which the English past and present position in the world must

be assigned, rebels against an abdication of self by submitting to an organisation, which is impossible without the strictest subordination and discipline. Therefore, England as we now know it would have to disappear, before a Great Britain on German models could be formed, and that will never happen. A party which would dare to propose so revolutionary a measure would be swept from office by public opinion; the statesman is not yet born who would take the lead in such a movement, and the voting masses who object to a small duty on cereals in the interests of the Imperialistic idea, would reject as one man such an inroad upon their personal independence. The enforced military service of Continental Europe is one of the principal reasons for the contempt the Briton bears for other nations, and the lessons learned in the South African War have not reduced him to such a modesty that he should consider himself as a mere equal of a Frenchman, German or Russian. The Englishman is born to command, or anyhow to live according to his liking, but not to obey blindfolded. Thus Heaven has

ordained it, and thus it shall be for ever and ever.

The nation can, of course, only indulge in this freedom because they are an insular people, and consequently able to build up a naval state. In Germany a well-disciplined large army was a *conditio sine qua non* for its very national existence, and the Hohenzollern princes saved the country by forcing from their original possessions this institution upon the unwilling Germans of the other States. As a matter of fact, Great Britain can get on very well without a large standing army, and did so ever since the death of Oliver Cromwell, as long as her fleet is paramount on the seas. The Press has enlarged at once upon this fact when the militia report became known. But we must propound the question whether a modern navy must not be imbued with the same spirit of discipline and order as the army, if it is to meet the requirements of our period, and whether we really find it in the British navy? This interests all the nations more than any other question, and this will be the leading factor in the shaping of the world's history,

Opinions and assumptions on this point are of no practical value.

As far as we are able to see, Britain's navy is adequate to her world-wide policy. For quantity and quality of ships and for number of personnel it is undoubtedly the first in the world, as is shown by the following comparative list :—

	Great Britain.	Germany.
1. Battleships		
First class	38	17
Second class	19	10
Third class	3	6
2. Protected cruisers		
New types	32	7
Old types	9	—
3. Cruisers		
First class	21	1
Second class	54	8
Third class	50	17
Torpedo gunboats ..	42	3
Torpedo destroyers ..	145	41
Large torpedo boats ..	29	40
Submarines	19	2

	Great Britain.	Germany.
Personnel	127,000	33,562
Reserves	46,500	70,000

The British navy in 1903–4 had 20 admirals, 6,556 officers, including 1,734 warrant officers (risen from the ranks), 83,009 petty officers and sailors, 3,700 midshipmen, 4,237 coast guards and 19,580 marines, besides about 10,000 otherwise occupied, 6,000 pensioners and the reserves.

The Naval Budget for the same year amounted to £34,457,500 and with extras to £35,836,841, of which sum £17,350,000 were apportioned for the construction of new ships and for repairs, £3,206,100 for armaments, £6,312,800 for pay, £2,292,500 for commissariat and clothing.

The Navy is stationed as follows, viz.: in the Channel, the Mediterranean, China, Australia, the Pacific, East Indies, the Cape of Good Hope, the South Atlantic, North America and the West Indies, cruiser squadrons, squadrons in home waters, coastguards and reserves.

The British sea-power is greatly strength-

ened by a network of coaling stations in every port of the world such as Gibraltar, Malta, Port Said, Perim, Aden, Bombay, Colombo, Singapore, and Hong-Kong on the way to the Far East. It may be put down as an axiom that through her coaling stations she controls the steam traffic of the ocean as notably shown in the present Russo-Japanese war, where Russia is cut off from the Far East by this very want of coaling stations of her own. England, alone of all Powers, can move her fleet *ad libitum* from one end of the world to the other; she can put almost insuperable obstacles in the way of a foreign navy towards attaining such purposes. Matters have taken a new turn in favour of England's predominance at sea since sailing vessels have been replaced by steamships. It seems to me that this fact, with its consequences, is being overlooked by the general public in Germany. Many a high-flowing speech on "Imperial policy," with threats against England, would never be made if the orator understood the bearing of these circumstances on a war in foreign countries. In reality no power on earth can

embark in trans-oceanic warfare without the goodwill of England; for without coal the oceans cannot be traversed, and without a continuous supply of this fuel, battleships and torpedo boats become targets for the enemy.

During last century the two-power standard has been insisted upon for the strength of the Navy, *i.e.*, the British fleet in itself should be superior to a combination of the next two largest ones, viz.: the French and Russian. Towards such end the annual Budget was framed, but since relations with Germany took a turn for the worse and more especially since 1900, the possibility of a war against three nations entered into calculation. On the other hand, assistance by the United States of America seemed assured, and the idea took root that North America must compete in preparedness with Germany in the same way as England with a combined Russia and France, in order to give the two Anglo-Saxon naval strengths, come what may, a preponderance over the three great Continental Powers. The dislocation of the political equilibrium in this year, and especi-

ally the dismemberment of a portion of the Russian fleet by Japan, and the Anglo-French *entente cordiale* gave Great Britain's superiority on the waves a sounder basis than it had during her political isolation.

In view of the peculiar position of the British Isles, which for their supply depend in the main on imports from over the seas, the fleet must, according to competent experts, be able, in case of war, to blockade the hostile ships in their own ports if England's safety is to be vouchsafed. Simultaneously, sufficient strength must be available for keeping by means of cruisers the ocean open for the gigantic sea traffic of the country. Admiral Hornby calculated that this required 186 quick cruisers, whereas Great Britain possessed only 132, half of which number were necessary for blockading purposes, and, consequently, he considered the Navy inadequate. According to Captain Mahan, the proportion of a blockading squadron to a blockaded one should be at least as five to three, as the blockade of Santiago di Cuba has proved.

Of late the probability of a German war

gained more and more ascendency in practical politics.

The enlargement of the German fleet is creating misgivings, and it is useless to deny that the seriousness of this danger is being underrated. The new naval base at the Firth of Forth, near Rosyth in the St. Margaret's Road, with the strengthening of the home fleet, is undoubtedly a precaution against such eventuality. At present German forces surpass in the German Ocean the squadron at the disposal of Britain, and this cannot be allowed to go on. England knows as well as we do, that a war would on either side begin without a moment's notice with a surprise action, which must have a far greater chance of success at sea than on land, for the very reason, that sunken or blown up ships cannot be replaced. On this line of thought measures are being taken, based on the correct assumption that Great Britain will, with her numerical strength of ships, gain from every week of delay which enables her to draw upon her fleet scattered all over the seas.

The British coast defences are, I am told

by German experts, very strong indeed, and impregnable to an attack by battleships; yet, nevertheless, Germany would probably, once mistress of the seas, be in a position to force Great Britain into submission. But *vice versa* Great Britain could, in a similar case, compel Germany to sue sooner or later for peace. There is no telling beforehand what such war may bring forth, firstly, because no one can foretell how these two Powers compare as to man to man, ton to ton, gun to gun; and, secondly, because a struggle between the two Teutonic Powers would presumably lead to a world-wide conflagration. England has ever preferred to hunt down her adversary by coalitions.

The administration of the British Navy is in the hands of a committee, the so-called Board of Admiralty, at the head of which stands the First Lord of the Admiralty, always a member of the Cabinet and an M.P., and consequently a civilian. He alone is responsible for the general management and supervision of everything in connection with the fleet, and he decides upon appoint-

ments and promotions. Under him are five other members of the Board, four of whom are naval officers of high rank.

The First Naval Lord decides questions on naval defence, the organisation and distribution of the fleet; he supervises the intelligence and hydrographic departments, ships' outfits, discipline, military courts, signalling, collisions, guns, torpedoes, etc. The Second Naval Lord is responsible for the manning and command of the fleet, the mobilisation, naval training and education, the reserves and other matters in reference to the personnel.

The Third Naval Lord looks principally after the material of the fleet, such as docks, ship-building and repairs, engines, purchase of ships, stores, and inventions and patents, etc., whilst the Junior Naval Lord deals with transport, the medical department and the commissariat, hospitals, purchase of coals, uniforms, pensions, and so on. The Civil Lord finally attends to the works departments, buildings, and establishments, Greenwich Hospital, the dock schools, and other business. This Board has, further,

the services of a parliamentary and financial secretary, who supervises the finances, and of a permanent secretary, who sees to the offices and correspondence.

Thus the British Navy is under a number of independent departments severally controlled by the Board; this system is in accordance with the constitution, and seems to work very well. The reader will easily recognise that Lord Esher's report is an endeavour to bring the army essentially under the same rule.

Whatever might be thought of this organisation, it must be kept in mind, when judging English military standing, that the *matériel* is as good as that of any other nation, and that of the navy simply magnificent.

It is, after all, a matter of course that a nation, dependent for more than a thousand years on the sea for its subsistence, and with a higher percentage of a seafaring population than any other people, can produce a fighting force of the very first order for the navy.

Although it is perfectly true that modern

seamanship is a purely technical work, and that great issues on the sea depend less on nautical powers than on soldierly discipline, yet it must be admitted that men accustomed to the sea and feeling quite at home on board ship must needs fight better in this their element than those who get their first smell of the briny on entering the naval service.

Neither should we delude ourselves into the belief that the supply of men would soon run short amongst the Anglo-Saxons. In times of peace this is merely a matter of pay; but were war to break out, the British national pride in their navy would man the ships with sufficient trained reserves, gathered from wherever the English tongue is spoken. Whereas conscription, as enforced in Germany, is a safely-working suction-pump for supplying fighting material, its place is, anyhow as far as the Navy is concerned, more than taken in Great Britain by the national trend and inclination of a seafaring nation. And, furthermore, naval service is in this country free from the stain from which enlistment in the army still partly suffers. The

fleet is the essentially national weapon of the nation; its votaries are held in high esteem, and the bluejackets are popular inland as well as on the coasts, wherever the Union Jack flies.

Whether this fighting machine is ready for action or not, can of course only be decided in field or naval battles. Anyhow, the South African war has taught England a useful lesson, and we see her at this moment assiduously at work to eradicate the shortcomings which had become apparent in the organisation of the army, whilst on the other hand no sacrifice is spared in order to maintain the traditional supremacy of her Navy on the oceans.

In the coming evolution of Imperialistic policy, more and ever more assistance will be rendered as the years roll on by the strongly developing colonies, which made its first appearance on the African veldt. The desire for a central organisation of the Imperial forces is being felt on all sides and, if Great Britain lives sound and whole through one more generation, mankind at large will be confronted by an army and a navy, not

merely drawn from the small group of tight little islands in the west of Europe, but backed by the rapidly-increasing population of a world-wide Empire branching out into every zone of our planet.

CHAPTER VII.

ENGLISH EDUCATION.

EDUCATION is, in my opinion, not merely the instruction given in schools and at the Universities. The aim and object of such instruction is to evolve the thinking power of the growing generation, whereat education must harmoniously influence and shape the character. Unquestionably Germany is, thanks to her great organising capacity, far ahead of England in school and university; yet another and quite different question is, which of the two peoples provide a superior education? On this question I will not venture to pronounce a decisive answer. I shall do nothing but point out in which respect the training of young England differs from that of the German

youth, and on which ideas it is based. Generally speaking, education amongst the better classes in English speaking countries is rather more than with us a question of "bringing up."

The terms "Gentleman" and "Lady," so often quoted and so often misunderstood, form the ideals of every education. Parents and teachers do not act on the principle of cramming pupils with all sorts of scientific information and pushing them through a series of public examinations; they rather do their utmost to make them acquainted with good society manners, and to impart to their character an honourable way of thinking. For if we wish to define what is a "gentleman," or its correlative the "lady," we cannot limit the scope to a perception of good manners and general knowledge, but must first and foremost think of honesty of conduct and that respect for the rights of others which is termed "fairness." The descriptive term of "gentleman" is similar in meaning to the Greek καλὸς κ'ἀγαθός (superior in mind and body). It is characteristic of the peculiarity

of this nation that the word "gentleman" cannot be translated into any other language. Neither the "Ehrenmann" in German, nor "Cavalier" or "Gentilhomme" in French, fully convey its meaning. The name and the idea are exclusively English, and to this is largely due the position occupied by that race amongst the nations of the world.

It is towards forming gentlemen and ladies that all education in Great Britain tends, not merely amongst the higher but also with the middle classes. On the other hand, the education of the masses, which, thanks to the provision made by the State, is highly developed in Germany is of a very low standard in England. Universal school attendance is compulsory in principle; all children between the ages of 5 and 14 years are legally bound to pass the elementary schools. But children between 12 and 14, and in the country districts even those of 11 may be absolved either partly or entirely from attending school, and large numbers avail themselves of this permission. In 1902 provision was made in England and Wales

for 6,681,295 children; 5,881,278 children of school age were registered, but only 4,890,237 put in an appearance. In the same year Scotland had on the register 768,598 with accommodation for 926,219, but the attendance only reached 646,501. Ireland possessed in 1902 8,712 schools and a register of 747,864 children of school age, of which number only 487,098 really attended. The United Kingdom had 32,020 Board Schools with 6,023,836 pupils as against 58,164 elementary schools with about 9,000,000 pupils in Germany.

Elementary schools in Great Britain practically charge no fees. The management of public schools rested up to 1903 with the so-called School Boards, which were dissolved by Law in 1902. By this law, which still to-day meets with a considerable amount of opposition and resistance all over the country, the control of the elementary schools passed to the County Councils, which elect amongst their members Educational Committees. Our purpose does not require to describe this organisation in detail.

Suffice it to say, that religious instruction appears very largely in the schooling. Biblical history and the catechism form the material used for teaching the children: reading, writing, and arithmetic, are of course likewise taught, but history and natural history are only dealt with within the limitations of the Church doctrine. A distorted view of English history, in which Great Britain figures as the apex of human development towering high above all other nations, stamps on the minds of the young that insular arrogance which forms the nation's worst characteristic. Foreign history and foreign geography are practically unknown amongst the normal multitude. This is about the sum total of popular education which essentially remains depending on the bias of the clergy.

If limitation means mastership, then we find it to the full in English national schooling. This pedagogic system imparts to modern English manners their ingenuous narrow mindedness in their opinions of themselves and of all foreigners upon which in the main are based their racial prejudice and

the unchecked national expansion. Every individual, Germans think, should get an objective view of the universe, and his own position within it: but it is open to doubt whether it serves the national interest of a people, with world conquering propensities. The English, like the Romans of old, look at the world through nationally coloured glasses, and no universal knowledge puts a stop to their self-admiration which prompts their political designs and actions.

Then, the young Briton of the lower classes is taught a good many other things of practical use in after life. Just as he is told to divide human beings into Britons and non-Britons, the former as divinely destined rulers of the world, and the latter as their pre-destined subjects, so it is brought to his understanding, that the British consists of "Gentlemen" and "Not Gentlemen." The former he looks up to as his superiors and he learns to treat them with respect, but being himself an Englishman he expects *vice versa* respect and politeness from them. This mutual esteem between the upper and the lower classes is characteristic of the

whole public and private life. In England it is impossible to find the arrogant, commanding tone which gives so frequently the imprint upon the intercourse between the different strata of population in other countries, whilst on the other hand a decent coat and clean linen are in this country not an object of envy but of voluntary, and therefore dignified, subordination. The "people" in England are as far from slavish servility as from cynical impudence, when mixing with the educated classes.

The British youngster learns in the national schools from the very earliest: football, cricket and boxing; he learns that it is unfair if two attack one, or if a big boy hits a little one; that once an adversary is on the ground he must not hit him, leave alone kick him; that fairplay must rule at any sort of fighting. Then he learns that every man owes some regard to the other sex, that he must give up his seat to a "lady," that he must give way to her in restaurants, railway carriages and theatres. This is about the general education, with which he enters upon life from the schools.

To what an extent popular education is inferior in the United Kingdom as compared with Germany, can be seen from the fact that according to marriage registers in 1902, the percentage of persons unable to read and write was in England 2.5 per cent. men, and 2.9 per cent. women; in Scotland 2.16 per cent. men, and 2.76 per cent. women; but in Ireland 11.5 per cent. men, and 9.4 per cent. women. So large a percentage were but two years ago forced to mark their cross in the register, being unable to write their names. In 1902 there were 153,492 board school teachers, including 116,927 women and girls, so that the elementary education of Great Britain and Ireland is principally in the hands of females. Most schools are denominational; we find in 1902 in England and Wales 5,878 undenominational schools, whereas 11,714 belonged to the Church of England, 459 were Wesleyan, 1,043 Roman Catholic, and 1,059 were divided amongst other sects. We see therefore that the clergy has a dominating influence over the lower education in England.

But whereas the elementary schools, of whatever nature, are all subject to a State regulation control, the majority of the higher schools are private and without any inspection by the Authorities. There are so-called grammar schools, all local, nowhere national institutes: only 144 are under public control, for the reason that they are subsidised by the State; all others are entirely independent.

It has been calculated that England alone has 6,000 private schools with 290,000 pupils. Only within the last 20 years some of the larger school centres have, from their own initiative, established middle-class schools, the so-called "Higher Elementary Schools," although they have legally no right to do so. But a growing demand for such institutes made itself so much felt that they were not interfered with, and are even granted State aid; of such schools no more than 29, with about 7,000 pupils, existed in 1902, drawing a State grant of £15,288.

A kind of such higher class schools characteristic of England are the Evening Schools, where young people occupied by daytime can improve their knowledge. Of such even-

ing schools 5,198, with 527,729 attendants, existed in England at the end of July, 1902, and in Scotland 952, with 48,489 attendants: the curriculum of these schools includes, besides the three "R's"—reading, writing and arithmetic—drawing, shorthand, book-keeping, handicraft, and of late also modern languages.

Institutions of this kind, which may be compared to the German "Fortbildungs-schulen," are extending their scope by lessons at daytime; of such "Secondary Day Schools" we find in 1902 already 358 with 27,852 pupils. Scotland and Ireland possess similar institutions for higher education. In 1903 Scotland shewed on the registers 94 Latin schools with 19,509 applicants for certificates of proficiency as against 8,379 pupils in Ireland applying for final examination in 1902.

The most select class of the higher standard schools in the United Kingdom are the so-called endowed schools, *i.e.*, schools maintained by old or modern foundations. The most renowned one is Eton College, where more than 1,500 sons of

the noblest British families receive their education. Here the classical dead languages and modern science are aught as well as English sports of all kinds. The venerable building is situated on the right bank of the Thames, opposite the Royal residence of Windsor, in the shadow of old elm trees, with quaintly formed roofs, a Gothic church, and an ancient Cross-path. Through the schoolrooms of Eton nearly all great statesmen of England of the last centuries have passed. The peculiar Eton suit is well known: a black jacket, broad turned-down collar and high hat. The Eton boys present the appearance of well-behaved young gentlemen, as hardly ever found in any other part of the world. They are famous as rowers and cricketers. With Eton competes Harrow, situated in the north of London. Here, too, we find the typical working hand-in-hand of scientific study with the sports of Old England, viz., cricket, rowing, golfing, lawn-tennis, etc. The matches played between the different schools are public events, and the preparations for such cricket, football or rowing

matches are treated with greater seriousness than Tacitus or Horace. As a certainty English lads do not in their middle and higher schools attain the same efficiency as the pupils of the German "gymnasium" in Latin, Greek, mathematics, natural history and history, but they learn good society manners and develop brain and muscles. They prepare at Eton and Harrow, etc., from one might say their earliest youth for public careers in founding debating clubs where political topics of the day are freely discussed. The education of an English gentleman embraces, besides the items already mentioned—so a young Lord told me—horsemanship, billiards and the art of shaving themselves. The education of all classes from the great colleges downwards includes good manners at table, not to eat with the knife, not to rest the elbow on the table, not to curl the moustache in public, not to use the toothpick in an obtrusive way, leave alone the habit of placing a toothpick after use on the table-cloth. All these things are so ingrained in even the lower classes as part and parcel of their

bringing up, that neglect of these rules of decency on the part of the foreigner offends them deeply. True, these are but formalities to which more value is attached in Great Britain than anywhere else, but the neglect of which is the principal cause of the contempt in which the foreigner is pretty universally held.

An anomaly in this educational method, so deeply imbued with a sense of good breeding, is the retention of corporal punishment even for the high standard boys in all English schools, not excepting Eton and Harrow. It offends our sense of honour to see young men 16 and 18 years old birched, and that this mediæval form of school discipline should survive to our days is a further proof of the English conservatism we have already met with on other occasions. They do not part freely with old customs and old usages.*

* There is no better or rather worse proof of this than the degeneration of English orthography. The alphabet is a genial invention of illustrating the sounds of the human voice, and thereby transmitting words and sentences through the eye from one brain to another, for which purpose spelling must follow as closely as possible the pronunciation, so that the sound produced can be reconstructed from the signs written down. As a matter of fact the pronunciation of words is

It is of the greatest difficulty to describe the higher scholastic system in the British Isles, because there is really no system to be traced. Public, private and communal schools intermingle kaleidoscopically, and only within the last few years this important subject is being brought under State control, so that in this respect Great Britain is, to

ever changing in a living language, and, consequently, orthography must be revised from time to time, in order to avoid too great a discrepancy between the written and the spoken word.

In Germany spelling has been repeatedly modernised, but not so in England with a culpable negligence almost beyond belief; the words as spoken and as written have from century to century been allowed to become more and more incongruous, so that at the present time it is quite impossible to construct the one out of the other, and the spelling of practically every word must be specially learnt, so that the foreigner has to be taught both spelling and pronunciation, as in Chinese.

That all vowel signs have changed their congenial sound may pass without comment. The English may be permitted the license of differing from all other nations in this respect, but why should the same *e* sound be spelled ei in keith, ea in treat, ee in seed, and ie in chief? And how can it be justified that *read* has one vowel sound when in the present and another one when in the past tense, and that *lead* has one pronunciation when synonymous with guide and another when used as a metal? There are hundreds of similar anomalies.

Anglo-Saxons ought to wake up from their lethargy and revolutionise their foolish system; they ought to arrange for an Anglo-American academy with power to bring pronunciation in concord with spelling. But I fear this will remain an alluring dream for many a long day. A nation which clings to its rotten system of weights and measures instead of adopting the simple decimal system is hardly likely to overthrow the customary spelling in favour of a modern logical orthography. This is a notable sign of the weakness innate to their national character.

put it mildly, half a century behind Germany. With us, too, most of the gymnasia, such as we know now, evolved from private schools during the last century, and to profit from our methods has been the desire of far-seeing statesmen, amongst them pre-eminently Lord Rosebery.

If the English would contrive to introduce part of our systematic syllabus, whilst maintaining their beautiful athletic bringing-up, they would far more approach the Hellenic ideal of training the young than we Germans who, by promotion on the basis of examinations, are in danger of mummifying it.

To my idea a sound combination of German and English school systems would be a valuable boon to the entire Germanic race: it is already being practically carried out by many English families who send their children, boys and girls, for several years to foreign schools—the better class preferably to France and Belgium, and the lower ones to Germany.

The higher English scholastic establishments are as a rule boarding schools, and consequently, the sexes are separated; just

as we find "colleges for young gentlemen," so we find "colleges for young ladies." The suburbs of London are full of these, and seaside places, such as Brighton, Eastbourne, Hastings, Ramsgate, and many others have their share of them. In girls' schools, music and painting occupy a front rank, and open air sports are the order of the day. The girls marching in long rows through the town are a typical sight everywhere over Great Britain and Ireland.

German observers cannot fail to be surprised at the preponderance of games and sports over scholastic work. Whereas, in German Gymnasia we are tied on four days for six and two days for four hours each to the benches, and devote only two hours a week to gymnastics, and another two hours to singing, the average time appointed daily for lessons is, in an English College, sometimes only two hours, the rest being given over to playing and singing. English people delight in scoffing at the eye-glasses so frequently worn by us Germans; they simply forget that the impaired sight is usually the result of hard study, whereby

the German on leaving school possesses actual general knowledge of nature, history and literature, whilst the average Briton, male or female, all his life remains, as compared with our standard, a person of very poor attainments. Admitted that the value of mere book-learning may be over-estimated, and that we Germans lean towards that, yet it is beyond question that the shallowness of national education, due in the first instance to Britain's school methods, is driving her fast into an inferior rank for science and industry to that occupied by other countries, more especially Germany and North America. No doubt it is a pleasure to behold a people that can as a rule dispense with spectacles, but a strong eyesight may perhaps be paid for with too high a price by short-sighted intelligence, consequent on inexact and deficient schooling; and of this general ignorance, the observant foreigner who moves in English society, finds the strangest evidences at every step.

Next to these general schools which I have tried briefly to describe, follow, on the one

side, technical schools for men and women, and on the other the Universities.

In both Great Britain is far behind our German system, and academies for mining and forestry and technical schools are still in their infancy. England spent in 1901-1902, only £1,000,000 altogether for technical education, quite a ridiculous sum in comparison with the corresponding expenditure in Germany; and Scotland spent even less, viz: £58,407, Ireland being satisfied with £25,000. In 1902 England possessed 232 schools of art, with 100,000 attendants, whilst commercial schools proper do not exist at all. No wonder, then, that the English clerk is beaten in all parts of the world by the German. The schools for agriculture, however, take a very high place as far as the practical training for life in the colonies is concerned, the pupil being instructed in every kind of handicraft indispensable for founding a home in the wilderness.

The crowning glory of German college methods are the Universities, which are rightly looked upon with pride. The com-

bination of exact study and academic liberty is found nowhere else in the world, and the life of a German university student is the very acme of higher education. It cannot be denied that our 'Varsity life has its faults, many an existence being ruined by unchecked liberty, but taken as a whole, it solves the problem how best to pass over from the school benches to the seriousness of life, and it is this very period that fills the whole life of an educated German with the proudest reminiscences like an halo of poetical glory.

Such a University life does not exist in England, no free "Burschen" life takes the edge off the enforced study, no corporations take the fresher in hand to teach him manners, no beer meetings and no fencing matches form the enjoyable background for the Alma Mater. The boarding-school life is simply continued, and the place of students' corporations is taken by clubs and sporting associations. The two largest Universities in England are those of Oxford and Cambridge—the former with 22 colleges and halls, besides four private halls, the other

with 19 colleges. These colleges are independent corporations, under their own specific laws, and bear special names such as :—All Souls', Balliol, Brasenose, Christ Church, etc., at Oxford ; and Trinity, St. John's, Caius, Pembroke, Emmanuel, Christ's, King's, etc., at Cambridge. The head of each college is a rector (master, provost or president), elected by the fellows, who have risen from the ranks of the graduates and enjoy fixed incomes from the foundation funds. Next come, as members of a college, the magisters, doctors and bachelors, and lastly, the undergraduates or students proper. In 1903, Oxford had of these last 3,570, Cambridge 2,900, whilst the graduates and undergraduates together amounted to 6,361 for Oxford, and to 7,093 for Cambridge. This total forms the Convocation or Senate, the highest tribunal for all questions concerning the University. The Senate elects the Chancellor, the two members of Parliament, the majority of the professors, and decides on the beneficed clergy.

The congregation further includes the resident M.A.'s (magistri artium), and is the

controlling authority for the Hebdomadal Council, which, consisting of Chancellor, Vice-Chancellor, Proctors, six Presidents of colleges, six professors and six members elected by the congregation, forms the administrative body for the University. It is a self-governing corporation entirely independent of State Control. It grants degrees and honours, but does not hold examinations entitling to Government positions or other diplomas. The medical man, the lawyer, or the teacher need not matriculate at a University in order to qualify for their professions. This is the radical difference between English and German Universities. Academical titles are considered an honour and therefore tried for, but they are of no practical use for the profession. The young medical student studies at a hospital. The aspiring legal man is articled to a solicitor, and the teacher need not study at all, whilst the farming apprentice goes to the Agricultural College at Wye.

In order to be admitted to the University, the applicant must pass an examination on general subjects which differs from our

"Abiturientenexamen" in so far as it is ridiculously easy. A study embraces three years, each with four Terms in Oxford and three Terms in Cambridge, during which time the student has to pass three examinations in order to become a B.A. Candidates desirous of passing "with honours" have to undergo an examination in one of the following six "schools" or faculties, viz.: 1.—In literae humaniores (*i.e.*, Latin, Greek, logic and philosophy) or, 2.—In mathematics, 3.—In law, 4.—In natural history, 5.—In modern history, and 6.—In theology. The holder of the bachelor degree receives the degree of Doctor three years later without any further examination. Special examinations are fixed for other titles.

During the Terms, the students reside together in one of their colleges, and take their meals in common dining rooms. Rigid rules are laid down and properly enforced, and there is no sign of that absolute freedom of movement so characteristic of German Universities. Another point of difference between the two is, that a man who has once belonged to the University,

remains a member to the end of his life and has a vote in the Oxford Convocation or the Cambridge Senate, as the case may be, as long as he upholds his subscription. Thus years spent at the University do not, as with us, form a period all of its own, a glorious dividing link between the school bench on the one hand and practical life on the other; they are merely a variation of the school period, and continue in after-life, although in an attenuated form. In Germany the frolics of youth explode in one brilliant exhibition of fireworks, in England the academic period is merely a more accentuated form of life previous and subsequent.

As far as I have been able to ascertain, work at the English Universities is, on an average, more uniform than with us, and undoubtedly a good deal of knowledge is imparted, although the ecclesiastical control interferes with unrestricted research. With us the study terminates in a State examination, upon the result of which usually depends the entire future. In England it ends only in the addition of letters to the

name, which is honourable enough but of no practical value for the profession.

Although the English students in general show nothing of the exuberant boisterousness for which ours are known, yet even Oxford and Cambridge show a great deal of life. Youth will have its way even in staid England, and eccentricities are by no means unknown. Dinner and drinking bouts enliven also the ancient college walls of Oxford and Cambridge, but the centre of social amenities is, as everywhere in England, formed by sports. Boating and cricket are well to the fore, and the 'Varsity races in early spring, when Cambridge and Oxford annually compete for the Thames championship, are the climax of the whole academical life, and at the same time a feast in which the whole country participates. To excel at this race is a greater honour in the eyes of the student than to pass the highest examination.

Other preparations for a public career are, however, not neglected; the academical debating clubs follow in the wake of the school discussions, and there the future

parliamentarians and statesmen make their first steps in learning to speak on political questions of the day.

Oxford and Cambridge go back to the middle of the 13th century as centres of learning, the oldest college of Oxford being founded in 1249, the oldest one of Cambridge in 1257. Since then, customs and internal arrangements remained practically stationary. In Oxford, the influence of the Church of England has predominated since the reformation—it is the bulwark of conservatism; in Cambridge, Nonconformists are in the majority and it sends Liberals to Parliament. Each University is represented in Parliament by two members.

There are several other universities, the largest one being that of London, founded in 1836, being comprised of 25 colleges, in which eight schools or faculties are taught. Lately, Universities have been founded in Manchester, Birmingham, Liverpool, and one in Wales. Scotland has four Universities—at St. Andrews (founded 1411), Glasgow (1450), Aberdeen (1494), and Edinburgh (1582). The Carnegie Trust, founded by the well-

known millionaire, in 1901, with a capital of £2,000,000 and an annual income of £100,000 for the purpose of encouraging studies in Scotland, paid in 1902, to 2,867 students, allowances to the amount of £28,275. Ireland possesses one University at Dublin, and, besides, the "Royal University of Ireland," which, however, is only an examining institute.

Then, there are special colleges for certain professions: Theology is read at Hackney College and New College, also at Hampstead, Regent's Park College, Cheshunt College, Wesleyan College, Richmond, and in St. John's Hall, Highbury. Medicine is taught at St. Bartholomew's and in the following hospitals—London, Guy's, St. Thomas', St. George's, Middlesex, St. Mary's, Charing Cross, Westminster, Royal Free, and at University College. Bedford College of London, Royal Holloway College of Egham, Westfield College of Hampstead, and the London Schools of the Hospital for Women are exclusively for the use of female students of medicine. University education for women is provided by several academies, of which Newnham and

Girton Colleges in Cambridge, with together (1903) 298, and Lady Margaret Hall in Oxford with 54 students may be mentioned.

Natural history only is taught at the Royal College of Science; natural history and art combined at Royal Holloway College and Bedford College; arts only at Westfield College, Hampstead. The City and Guilds of London Institute has its Central Technical College and Technical High School, with 23 teachers and 918 students, and this is now to be further developed on the lines of the Technical High School at Charlottenburg.

There is no need to mention any more English high schools; the reader will see that there are plenty of opportunities for study. What is wanting, is plan and method, such as exist in our educational establishments. Wherever a German student may follow his avocation, he will reach practically the same level of general knowledge and special acquirements, simply because the State prescribes a uniform standard of examinations for all universities. In Great Britain, everything varies indi-

vidually and locally, and more especially the highly important medical study in the hospitals is without the general scientific basis of the German Universities. No doubt the British system produces many a clever practitioner, especially in the chirurgical section, where quick manipulation is required more than anything else, but the development of British medical science has not kept step with that of Germany and France during the last decades, just as practical chemistry and higher technics having more and more passed under German guidance. Men of intelligence have noticed this for a long time, and acknowledged the reason of such retrocession, and the desire to follow German methods increases daily in the matter of education no less than in the army.

This outcry for a thorough change is justifiable as long as Great Britain does not sacrifice the peculiar superiority of her own national training. No matter how much we Germans have the lead in engendering a uniform amount of book-learning in the heads of the academical youth, the English system retains the advantage of personal

independence and individuality. German State examinations use the same jigs and gauges and thus keep all on a dead level, no doubt a valuable adjunct for the administration of the State and for adjusting the wheels of this complex machinery, but they deprive the mind of its natural freshness and originality. I mentioned already, that our system tends to reduce us to the rigidity of Alexandrinian and Chinese manners of thought. Our science moves in all its branches towards a uniform method, where each one becomes largely a specialist within narrow confines, a movement favourable to the final scope of the profession as a whole, but fatal to the development of the practitioner.

The German, like a pyramid, commences with a broad basis of general knowledge, but continues by narrowing down to the point of detail study so that at a ripe old age he is but limited to one single object which he has, it must be admitted, thoroughly mastered. In order to understand this, let us compare the heads of our scientific research at the beginning of the 19th century with the specialists at work at the com-

mencement of the 20th. The Kants and Schopenhauers, the Niebuhrs and Ranckes, the Humboldts and Ritters have all disappeared from our mental horizon and a sort of Alexandrinian Epigonism makes itself felt everywhere. This, as we have said, is favourable to special research, but a drawback to the free development of individualism.

The English method, largely amateurish, and its penchant for manly sports, allows more scope for the development of individual faculties. Whilst the British students attain less book learning, they are less exposed to the danger of becoming faddists in their profession; whoever has passed an English College and an English University, remains a man of the world to a greater extent than is the case under the German system. Men like Goethe, Lessing and Schiller, etc., remind us, in their bringing up, in spite of all divergencies, more of the English than of our present German system, which is the outcome of the 19th century, study before this period being extensively private work only. The advantage to the nation of our present system has largely been dis-

puted, and reform is being clamoured for; our Emperor started his public life with this question. Our pedagogues will find a good deal of material for improvement in the so frequently belittled English system.

There is no correlative in the English language for our "Strebertum," just as Germans have no word for "gentleman-like." We must not simply look down upon a school system which excludes the former whilst developing the latter, in deference to which we may indeed sacrifice a good dose of actual book learning. German schools and universities would profit by the introduction of the spirit prevailing at English games and sports, where manliness finds sway, just as much as English Colleges might adopt some of the advantages presented by our school life. By their fruits ye shall know them, and people must be very prejudiced indeed in order to decide altogether in favour of the German young lawyer or budding schoolmaster who has passed the University, when comparing them with the English B.A. issuing from Oxford and Cambridge.

The same applies to female education. Girls also acquire less book learning in English than in German schools; our young girls are, as a rule, more domesticated. The English are given more freedom. In the intercourse of the two sexes, Britain allows a far greater licence than Germany, where the young girl is kept from the man like a lamb from a wolf. Many a German mother would be horrified to see how freely the young of both sexes spend whole afternoons and evenings together in a rowing-boat on the Upper Thames, and what distances they cover on horseback without chaperone. Yet no one can say that there is less morality in England; neither will a comparison of English lady with German Society woman show that the latter, by the larger scope of her knowledge, makes a better or more interesting companion, so that the results of the two ways of bringing up do not altogether point to a superiority of the German system. Its advantages are evident and cannot be lost sight of, as we have seen, and shall see again, later on, in connection with national economy,

more especially as regards the middle and lower classes. Its drawbacks are the same as those of education amongst the male population, consisting in a lower degree of developing individuality, which not only deleteriously affects their social intercourse, but also decreases their influence in the family circle as well as in public affairs.

This question, then, like everything in life, comes to a compromise. German influence will be valuable for British training, and the British example will improve our national education. As a matter of course it can be traced already to an ever-increasing extent, all sorts of sport and outdoor games having entered into our daily life beyond all expectation. That, on the other hand, English patriots recommend German educational methods, we have previously mentioned. The political rivalry and jealousy between the two peoples will not interfere with this mutual interchange of essential elements of civilisation. Year by year, thousands of English young men and girls come to German colleges and Universities to imbibe learning, whilst the Cecil Rhodes

foundation enables 15 Germans annually to take up their stay at Oxford University, and is thus paving the way for Germans to assimilate some of the Anglo-Saxon spirit which has been of predominant influence in endowing the world beyond the seas with European civilisation.

CHAPTER VIII.

HOW THE ENGLISH PEOPLE LIVE.

THIS chapter brings me to the most charming subject of this treatise. We want to comprehend the bearing of English national economy and English world politics upon the life of the individual inhabitant. How does the Englishman live at home and in public? How do the several classes arrange their daily occupation, and what are their pleasures and comforts? For, after all, this point must form the ultimate aim of all historical research destined to illustrate a people on the lines of their past.

Battles and Acts of Parliament are only of value for the development of mankind, in so far as they react upon the conditions of life and mental activity amongst the indi-

viduals as such. The individual is undoubtedly the goal of human development, and to clearly understand it in every epoch is the object of history. For our purpose, however, we have not to deal with a dead past, but with a living organism. The Merry Old England of Dickens' period is still fully alive, although it has since undergone some changes.

Generally speaking, the life of the English people bears the character of comfort, as compared with our own. That parsimonious spirit pervading the German household is non-existent. We say, "Who despises the penny does not deserve the shilling," against the English proverb of "Penny wise and pound foolish." The German housewife is unique in her art to accomplish a lot with small means. Nothing is wasted; every bone, every dry crust is turned into a meal, if only into an eatable soup. Nothing of this sort is seen in England; what is thought of some little use with us is here treated as waste. Bones and dry loaves of bread go into the dustbin; pins, string, nails and burnt matches, which the careful German

saves up, are often thrown into the gutter by the English, as well as by the Americans, and this is one of the principal reasons why our poorer classes, in spite of a smaller income, find themselves in as comfortable a position as their richer Anglo-Saxon cousins.

I have in a preceding chapter stated the approximate income of the English working classes, and the prices of provisions as compared with Germany. Now let us see the daily life led by the English workman on this basis. He works on weekdays from 6 a.m. to 5 p.m., and on Saturdays till 2 p.m. During these hours he is allowed off from 8 to 8.30 for breakfast, and from noon till 1 p.m. for dinner; so that he is actually engaged in work 9½ hours on 5 days and 6½ hours on Saturdays, or for a total of 54 hours weekly. In the mines work lasts from 7 a.m. to 4 p.m., with half an hour's interval from 11 to 11.30 a.m. for a meal, and the farm labourers work from 6 a.m. till 6 p.m., with two hours' rest.

The mere fact that the factory worker and the navvy generally leave off work at 5 p.m.

to return to their family, and on Saturdays at 2 p.m., besides being free all Sunday, brings with it, as need hardly be mentioned, a large measure of home comfort unknown to Germans.

And now, how does our friend live on a work-day? He must rise at 5 a.m. to dress, and sally forth to the factory or whatever the work he might be engaged in. His wife, if he is married, or his housekeeper makes his cup of tea or cocoa, with which he may, or may not, take a slice of bread either with butter or dripping. He puts a good hunk of bread into his pocket, and buys on the way a rasher of bacon, which, with a half-penny mug of tea, forms his eight o'clock breakfast. The bacon he either fries himself on an open-air fire, or he buys it ready cooked and hot at a cookshop. For a change he may make his breakfast of eggs and bacon, or a kippered herring, bloater, and such like. At noon he goes home to dinner if he lives close by. Otherwise his wife or child brings him a pot of boiled meat and cabbage to the factory, just as is done in Germany; or he is satisfied with

cold meat or bread and cheese and tea, in which case he reverts at the close of his work again to the cookshop, where fried sausages, fresh herrings, steaks and chops, exhibited from hot pans in windows, appeal to his appetite. Three-halfpence will buy a hot meal—viz.: a cup of tea for ½d., a slice of bread with dripping ½d., and a piece of fried fish another ½d. His last meal, taken between 8 and 9 p.m., consists of bread and cold meat or cheese and a pot of beer, or else if he has had a cold dinner, he does without the 5 o'clock tea and eats at 6 a regular hot dinner, and nothing more after that.

Like the man, so his wife and family. The wife is not so much merely the helpmate as in Germany. The great respect for the female sex pervades the whole nation, and is shown by the way a working man's family live. The real comfort of such family life can only be understood if we bear in mind that each family, even the lowest rank, occupy a separate house with garden. The work finished, the man hurries to his home, which is his all-in-all; "Home, sweet home" is the song of the English people.

The home of the British workman is fitted with greater comfort than that in any other country, and, what is more than anything else, he is the master there just as much as the King in his palace. On summer evenings the father is seen sitting in his little garden, or attending to it, planting here and weeding there, surrounded by his playing children. In winter he whiles away the hours of idleness and recreation sitting at the cosy fire-place, reading his newspaper and smoking the inevitable short pipe. Saturday afternoon is the time of all times. It is principally devoted to sports; football and cricket form the entertainment of all England, and every working man in town or country belongs to a club where these games are played. The whole population turns out to Green and common in London and in every hamlet. Whilst the upper classes enjoy themselves with lawn tennis and golf, the artisan and working man play cricket and the youngsters engage in football, although even the better classes are passionately fond of the last two popular national pastimes, only that they have the means of

indulging also in more expensive sports. Cricket and football are recreations common to all, and Saturday afternoon is the time for seeing all England at play.

Then Sunday makes its glorious appearance; the beautiful quiet English Sunday, the terror of foreign tourists, who deplore the absence of the many continental opportunities for amusement and loafing; but the happiness of the man, who has worked and schemed six days, and now on the seventh day yearns for complete rest. The English Sunday is indeed a day of rest in its fullest meaning. All factories, all offices and shops are closed, no letters and only special telegrams are accepted and delivered. From Saturday midnight to Sunday midnight the pillar boxes are not emptied. Railway travelling is limited as far as possible, no trains leaving London between 10 a.m. and 3 p.m. Restaurants and public-houses are closed a great part of the day, being open only from 1 till 3 and from 6 till 11 in the evening. There is no theatrical performance, no public concert, no popular entertainment on Sunday. Museums

and picture galleries are at least closed till 2 p.m., and again from 4 p.m. in winter and from 6 in summer. The law forbids that any one should be forced to work on the Sabbath Day. Even the meals in the better-class families are restricted, so that the servants should have anyhow the afternoon and evening to themselves. The workman, also, is at rest. The morning he devotes to church-going, and frequently the evening, too; the afternoon to a walk with his family in the open, the parks, or along the river banks. There you can see them in their ten or hundred thousands, the father wheeling the perambulator, not the mother as in our country.

They lie about on the grass, stretching themselves out lazily and comfortably, or in winter sit in groups on the benches. Or, again, the young lad saunters forth with his girl into the open spaces, where you can see them lying arm-in-arm on the green grass with a nonchalance appalling to the stranger. Dancing is not allowed on Sundays, and is altogether less in vogue amongst the British people than in Germany. Love

flourishes somehow, without such extraneous stimulant, amongst the sexes in town and country of its own accord.

The importance of the English Sunday for the lower classes is easily understood. The purport of the Sabbath, viz., to refresh nerves and muscles, is better attained amongst Anglo-Saxons—for the United States follow the example set by England—than in any other part of the world. With us Sunday is only too often succeeded by the "Blue Monday"; but the British labourer, having spent the Lord's Day as previously described, starts the new week fresh in mind and body.

Above the labouring classes stand, as we have shown, in England the broad strata of business employees of both sexes—salesmen and saleswomen and clerks, people with an annual income of from £50 to £250, representing the lower middle classes. Their business hours in the City last generally from 9 a.m. to 6 p.m., and in shops from 9 a.m. till 7 or 8 p.m. At 8 o'clock every shop in England closes, except grocers' shops, which keep open till 9, whilst drapery

establishments close at 6, so that the girls behind the counter can spend their evenings with their families. The latter close on Thursdays at 5 p.m., so that the shop girls have a whole afternoon to themselves. On Saturdays, again, all places in the City and West End close at 2, with the sole exception of groceries, greengroceries, and such, which are being kept open till 11 p.m., in order to supply Sunday requirements. We have already stated that on Sundays all business shops are closed, except tobacconists and some fruit shops in the suburbs, under a special licence.

We see that, generally speaking, these classes, too, have better regulated working hours than amongst us. The strain and stress of too long extended service are unknown, and in these branches this is more justified even than in the labouring classes. For whilst it may be argued that the production of the country, and, therefore, its competitive strength, must suffer with a shortening of the labourers' working time, such pretext cannot be advanced for demanding that salesmen or women should

remain standing in a shop 12 hours instead of 10; this would not result in selling one cigar or one needle more. The turnover remains the same whether the public shop is open during 10 or during 12 hours.

To chain poor shop girls or salesmen to their work till 9, or even 10 p.m., as is done in Germany, is a useless slavery, which ought to be punished at least as much as cruelty to animals. Nothing proves more the ridiculous power of customs than the opposition of Berlin shopkeepers to the movement in favour of restricting business hours, of which they themselves would profit in the end. If I were lawgiver in Germany, I should despotically dispose of this point without regard to the grumbling of the trades interested. For this matter is of greater influence upon the well-being and comfort of millions of people than all school and sanitary regulations. An hour or two less labour in the evening makes all the difference to these classes, and that tells ultimately upon the physical and mental condition.

In England these elements have the evening to themselves, and may spend it in the

bosoms of their families or for outdoor amusements. They have three meals a day, viz.: the typical breakfast of one course (eggs and bacon, kippered herrings, etc.), with tea; then at 1 o'clock a simple lunch, often only bread and cold meat; and, finally, when the work is over the so-called "high tea," *i.e.*, tea with one or two courses, either eggs or fish with meat. In other words, the principal meal is consumed after business hours, and the same usage prevails in the higher classes.

These people usually live in a suburb. If they are married, they spend the evenings with their families; but as the majority of these are young or single, they form naturally a strong contingent of the loving couples. The "young man" visits his "young lady" at her parents' house until he can take her to a home of his own, or he takes her out for a walk or to the theatre. I have previously mentioned the unceremonious and unrestricted intercourse between the two sexes, even when courting in the open. This walking out together is usually quite harmless, although naturally enough young girls are often led

astray in London. The shop girls of London may be likened to the Berlin *Konfektioneusen.* Hard work and joyous feasts form their motto. Thursdays, the early closing day, she likes to patronise performances at the theatres at reduced prices; Sundays she goes on the river, to Richmond, Surbiton, or Hampton Court. In winter she remains in town, and dines or sups at a cheap restaurant "with music," say, at Frascati's or Gatti's. You will see in England an unusual number of good-looking girls with refined features, although the type leaves something to be desired as regards roundness of figure if you take the Venus of Milo for a prototype. Their movements are firm and pleasing; they know how to dress, and their behaviour is in every essential that of well-brought-up young ladies. Her male counterpart, the clerk, is, as a rule, something of a coarse fellow; he is the "snob" of Great Britain; he tries to act the gentleman and does so in a way; he imitates his manners, but not the style for which he is so significantly distinguished, and he makes up for the want of education by brag and

swagger. These are the people who give the English a bad name in foreign countries, being accepted as representing the nation, because they pose as such, whereas the true gentleman, being modest and reticent, is often not known as an Englishman at all.

In dealing with the British lower middle classes I cannot help making an observation, which is typical of this country, and unquestionably touches the very cause of the decay of the whole system. Everyone of these people wants to be the gentleman and lady. The clerk imitates the "swell," the chambermaid dresses in her mistress's robes and poses as the "great lady." Everybody wants to outdo everybody in his or her position of life; the pleasure in real modest work is on the decline with the English as a whole; it is difficult to find the tailor who will mend our coat, or a bootmaker who will re-sole our boots. To get quickly rich is the password, and the money thus earned is squandered in luxury.

And as honest trades do not suffice for this purpose, the people of all callings turn to the wheel of fortune—to gambling. I referred

before to the sports as one of the main sources for the mental and physical recreation of the people. But they play also another part, and one of a far less wholesome nature. They are a lottery for young and old; hand in hand with every one of those sports goes betting to such an extent that not the game itself, but the wager lures the people to the grounds.

Horse-racing, boat-races, cricket, football, wrestling matches, etc., etc., originally appealed to the nation as sports only; nowadays they are merely the wherewithals for gaining money quickly, and on a large scale. Thus works the labourer, saves the clerk, the shop-girl, the domestic servant, in order to acquire the means to lay on horses, crews and favourites and to make a good hit.

This feverish passion pervades all classes. Not only in the palaces, but in the very kitchens and sculleries and stables; the racing reports, usually appearing in special four o'clock editions under the heading, "All the winners," are greedily devoured. They are to the English what the lists of the

Prussian State Lottery are to the Germans, but with the difference that all classes of the population and every profession almost are interested in them.

This aversion to an honest living by productive work in favour of the mania for a speedy accumulation of wealth, in order to live as a "gentleman," seems to me the paramount danger to England. To this trait is due the continuous immigration from other countries. Foreign domestic servants, artisans, and clerks take more and more the place of the indigenous worker, not for want of the home article, but because the English more and more objects to such loathsome work. He is the master of the Universe, and he means to be the gentleman in his own country. "Let the d—— foreigners do the dirty work."

What is to be the end of all this? Rome could despoil the earth because she forced the *orbis terrarum* with her legions into subjection, but England wants to enforce tribute from the whole planet, upon which after all depends the luxury of her existence, by the power of her capital.

How long will the nations stand this? If they revolt, the whole structure falls to pieces like the figure with the feet of clay, and glory ends in a general crash. For the great economical law is that whoever wants to live must work, and any one unit must not spend more than he creates by his work Yet, an increasing objection to labour is noticeable right through the British nation. This opens the door for the victorious entry of German competition, for our people are essentially laborious and industrious.

I have repeatedly pointed out the freedom of intercourse between the young of the two sexes. A young man is at liberty to take his intended to the seaside, and to live in the same house with her without any guard being kept by parents or elderly relatives. Nobody sees any harm in it, and, as a matter of fact, no harm is done. This intercourse is, as far as I can judge, only possible because even in the lower classes it is the woman who fixes the line to be drawn in this matter. The man respects this limit, because he considers it would be "ungentlemanlike" were he to try to over-

step it. With the only exception of the United States, we find in no country so few seducers as in Great Britain. To seduce a girl is deemed dishonourable, like theft or fraud with us, and whoever has been guilty of it would beware of even letting his best friend know of it. This frequently leads to hypocrisy, but such hypocrisy is surely a lesser evil than the frivolity with which such matters are often treated in Germany or France. I will not say that there is more morality in England than with us; a glance into a paper with the daily recurring items of divorce and seduction proves the contrary. But I do believe, that in Anglo-Saxon countries the fault lies more often with the female sex than is the case with us.

I had to touch upon these conditions in order to make the life of the English people fully understood. It appears to me as if the essentially national and popular amusements are decaying. The countryman dances no more round the Maypole, the youngster has discarded sending a valentine to his lady-love on the 14th February. As the years go on,

we see less and less of Guy Fawkes, the malefactor, who in 1605 tried to blow up the Houses of Parliament, being carried through the streets and burned on the 5th of November. The "Remember, remember, the 5th of November—gunpowder, treason and plot," commences to fade in the memory of the younger generation.

Christmas still retains its hold upon England as an all-embracing, popular festivity, although it does not attain the importance of our German feast. For whilst the Christmas tree can be seen now and then shedding its lights through the darkness, it is rather the exception than the rule. The ancient habit of hanging mistletoe in the centre of the hall, under which any girl may be kissed, is still in vogue, and on the festive table we see turkeys and geese, or the roast beef of Old England, with plum-pudding, in all their glory, as in the times of the Anglo-Saxons and Shakespeare. Then old and young twirl dancing through the halls; it is Yule Tide, and the Christmas box, which is universally doled out on the 26th, keeps up the northern custom of pre-

sents. Everyone congratulates everyone on the birth of light and the Saviour by sending out Christmas cards, usually bearing at the same time the New Year's greeting: "Wishing you a merry Christmas and a Happy New Year."

The popular holidays which have more and more replaced the old customs are the Bank Holidays, instituted by law. They are the real high time of the people, in which the broad masses, whose daily life we have sketched, find enjoyment and often hilariousness. On the day after Christmas, on Easter Monday, on Whit Monday, and on the first Monday in August, all banks, factories, shops, etc., in Great Britain and Ireland are bound to close, and these days are legal holidays for the whole population without the restrictions of the Sunday.

Who would dare to describe a British Bank Holiday in all its details? It may, perhaps, be compared to a German *Schuetzenfest*, although the difference is very great indeed. On Bank Holidays the Londoner migrates to the country, and the country dwellers invade the towns. The railways run

cheap excursions at short intervals in all directions, all filled to their fullest capacity. Everywhere we meet tents for dancing, roundabouts, swings, cocoanut shies, and refreshment places. Wherever you go you see dancing, drinking, lovemaking and fighting. The Thames is crowded with boats; seaside places swarm with holiday makers; the London parks are resplendent with the gay dresses of boisterous masses. Sensible people stop at home on such days, afraid of being drawn into the whirlpool of excitement. For these are the days for the people at large, and rightly so. At the very dawn of the morning we are awakened from our sleep by singing and shouting in the streets, and the tumult continues till late into the night. The bonds of the masses have been loosened; the pandemonium can be imagined, can be hinted at, but it cannot be described, and we must be satisfied with this inadequate sketch.

A picture of popular life in England would be incomplete without a glance at its peculiar religious customs, which pervade deeply the daily doings of the people. This applies less

to the Church of England than to the several sects of Dissenters or Nonconformists. The British are religiously inclined; church attendance in London, and still more so in the country, is an acknowledged adjunct to the English Sunday. To go to church is to be "good," to keep away from church is to be "wicked." There is no doubt a good deal of hypocrisy in this, for the Church is so influential, socially and politically that anyone who would like to emancipate himself, either from conviction or from inclination, would suffer directly and indirectly.

Yet independently of this, Church life is the outward sign of the religious feeling innate in this people.

In physical science, and still more philosophically, British training is half a century behind that in Germany. We have seen that their schools are in the main controlled by the clergy; the first Book of Moses is to this day the infallible document upon which their theory of life is built.

The "Word of God" occupies to this day the same position in the Anglo-Saxon community as it did with us at the time of Luther

and Calvin; its interpretation is being discussed by rich and poor with a seriousness and fervour, as if the enigma of existence in all its depths could finally be solved by it. That this should be so is strange in a people politically as unprejudiced and as enlightened as the English, and to realise it we must bear in mind how the lives of the people are intertwined with the Church.

It is well known that the several Protestant sects separated from the Anglican Church, because in the opinion of the more orthodox section it did not sufficiently insist upon the priesthood of the individual in relation to God. The English Church retained the institution of bishops, and, with it in the opinion of the more radically inclined Protestants, the Roman Catholic priesthood which claims to be the intermediary between God and man. The Church of England and Wales has two archbishops and thirty-three bishops, an abomination in the eyes of the reformers, whose doctrine leads direct to the original Church of the Apostles. To again put into practice the fundamental ideas of the first Christian ecclesiastical

communion is the ideal of the many sects which successively seceded from the National Church.

The principal Dissenters are the Baptists, the Congregationalists, and the Wesleyan Methodists, with a total of five million adherents in England and Wales, whilst the number of all Nonconformists ranges at 7½ millions. The Scotch Kirk is Presbyterian, with about ¾ million adherents; next comes the United Free Church of Scotland, with about 2 millions, both organised on a strictly reformed basis.

All these congregations, and a good many more which need not be mentioned, call upon their members to take part, not only in the administration, but also in preaching, which means that each one has the right to preach and to teach when the spirit moves him. Divine service is conducted, not in churches, but in chapels, schoolrooms, or in the open air, and this implants into British public life its peculiar characteristics. Wherever you go, you may come across such meetings of religious sects, often with flags and bunting, serving God in their fashion. Hyde Park is

full of such groups on Sundays. A chair serves as pulpit to the preacher, whose speech is full of enthusiasm and excitement, and as full of strange assertions. They often maintain that the English are not "Gentiles," but the ten lost tribes of Israel. Any artisan, be he bootmaker or tailor, evolves his arguments, attacks Max Müller, and other investigators with fierce acrimony, and gains the day to the satisfaction of his listeners. At the first glance it seems a matter of surprise that the Anglo-Saxon public should be so eager to be convinced that they are Jews instead of Teutons; but look to the inference drawn from it. The twelve tribes of Israel have been promised the earth, and thereafter Heaven, and that is where the English national egotism comes in. For these self-appointed apostles calculate that, in accordance with the promise, to the British as representing the ten tribes, belong ten-twelfths, and to the Jews two-twelfths, of the earth, whilst the Heavens will be the common property of both; all of us others are condemned in this world and in the world to come. That is a very comfortable and

agreeable feeling, appropriate to the national conceit and presumption of this race. That the English are God's chosen people, the beloved of the Lord, is the innermost conviction of every one of them. President Krüger made, in 1897, an anti-English speech at Pretoria, of which his political defiance upset them less than his assertion that God was on the side of the Boers at Majuba Hill. Could it be possible? God to have helped mere common foreigners against His own chosen nation? Preposterous! I do not go far wrong in stating that the last Boer war was as much fought for their special relation to God Almighty which both peoples claimed, as for the Rand mines of Johannesburg.

A most remarkable Church movement in modern England is the Salvation Army, started by General Booth. The "Army" was long derided in England as well as in other countries, but whoever knows it cannot withhold his admiration from its founder. He managed in a masterly manner with his organisation built on military lines, to stir and morally lift the lowest dregs of the

populace. These classes, never attracted by the ordinary church services, flock around the flags of the Salvation Army, which bring home to them religious devotion and simultaneously carries a sense of high morality and good conduct to the outcast and depraved. Moreover, General Booth leads successfully the combat against the distress of the downtrodden. The publication of his book, "In Darkest England" was followed by the founding of labourers' colonies, where everyone without work or employment is provided with board and lodging. Such a colony is to be found near Southend, where applicants have to make bricks, or assist in the cultivation of the soil, in payment for food and lodging, until work is found for them elsewhere. I visited it some time ago, and was agreeably surprised at the cleanliness and order reigning throughout. Strict temperance is the *sine qua non* in the requirements of the Salvation Army.

Street life has been strangely affected by the appearance of the Salvation Army, whose quaint, and not at all bad-looking uniform are pretty well known on the Continent.

Booth serves the Lord, not only with the spoken word, but like King David of old with song and music and flag and bunting. The bands of the Army are, as a rule, well trained, and even the voices of lads and lasses are not to be despised. Thus they march on Sundays with music at a high pitch and standards borne on high, through the streets to their halls, or ready to pray at any convenient corner, "Come and join, come and join, come and join the Salvation Army." There is no doubt whatever that theirs is a clever propaganda for proselytising. Whoever feels impelled to speak may come forward, and this proves, apart from the real object in view, a splendid schooling for public life.

I mentioned at the beginning of this chapter that in spite of the many modifications of which popular life in England has not been free, a good deal of the merry old England, as Dickens knew it, is still intact. This is easily perceived, if we travel by road any fine summer's evening through the land past villages and hamlets. The greens or the commons serve as recreation grounds for

the young, where they enjoy not only sports but also dancing and singing. "Dancing on the green, dancing on the green!"

Or, better still, if you want to come across scenes as described by Dickens, go into a wayside inn, and you will see in the parlour the old fishermen and rustics order their whisky hot, smoking their short clays or briars, exchanging their experiences and ideas, or else at the bar treating each other. "Have a drink"; "What is yours?" "Give it a name," are the regular calls. The inquirer pays for drinks all round, until another one takes up the thread: "It's my turn next," with a "good health," or "here's luck!" Hospitality is extensive and all embracing, and even a stranger present is invited to partake of the "treating."

The wives visit each other to tea, where buttered toast, with fried fish and eggs are served, with a libation of gin or light beer. Especially interesting is the life of the coast-dwellers, fishermen, and seafaring men; they present the good old German coast type, with hard, weather-beaten features, like sculpture out of the very rock. Surely no specimens of

the ten lost tribes. Pipe and hot whisky form the staple enjoyments of this circle.

Indeed, the life of the populace shows in all its ramifications that the British are a branch of the great Low-German race as found along our sea coasts. They have the same traits and features as the Dutch and North Germans. A sturdy cheerfulness given to enjoy the good things of this world combined with a strong bent for home and family, and an umistakeable humorous trend. Humour gives a spicy flavour to their conversation, be they ever so uneducated. Sam Weller is no idle poetical phantasy. You will find Sam Wellers on the 'buses and amongst the cabbies, in the parlours of the rural public houses, and at the London high-class bars. It is that dry and drastic humour which we Germans only know from Reuter, and, to a certain extent, from Wilhelm Busch; it is the very reverse of French "*esprit*." *

Taken all around the life of the English common folks is naturally sound. If we

* As an example I may mention a joke lately heard: "The poor devil is so gouty that he chalks his billiard cue with his own knuckles."

except the gambling mania and love for strong drinks, which, after all, they have in common with all Northerners, they are practically free from vices such as emasculate a nation. Particularly sensuality is by no means a fault that can be laid at their door. We speak nowadays so much of decadence and degeneracy, and many continental circles are fond of indulging in the theory of a degenerating England. If it is true that the lower social class forms the roots, providing the healthy sap for a regeneration of the whole tree and new green foliage; then this pessimistic theory is wrong. As it was centuries ago, so we see now the English lower people, as a whole, passionately fond of outdoor life and sports, we find to this day the family, the corner-stone of European civilisation, intact and sacred; we have before us a populace moving as of yore, within the confines so characteristic of us Germans. Even in its vices, gambling and drink, it simply confirms the German habits mentioned in the long ago already by Tacitus.

The country of towns *sans phrase*

though she may be, yet Great Britain is thoroughly rural in manners and tendencies; even the Londoner, or the citizen of Manchester, seeks the open for his amusements. The green meadow and the glowing fireplace form the background for the life of the people. In fine weather, summer or winter, young and old fill the parks, the greens and the commons; but when fog darkens these islands or the storm roars over the land, then the homely fireside gathers the family circle and their friends for a comfortable chat. The tea-kettle sings, or the whisky steams fragrantly, and the short pipe soothes the nerves. Thus English home life swings its pendulum between home and nature, and over the whole waves the strong briny breeze of the ocean.

CHAPTER IX.

ENGLISH SOCIETY.

THE foreigner would do well, on his first arrival in England, to make himself acquainted with the following general rules:—

A gentleman must not raise his hat to a lady, until she has first acknowledged her acquaintance with him by bowing. The same applies as between inferior and superior, the initiative lying with the person of higher social standing. On the same principle, a stranger must not call on persons residing in the district, but wait until these either pay him a visit or send him an invitation to their place. A gentleman walking with a lady in the street, walks on the side nearest the gutter, whilst the lady's place is on the inside nearest the houses, be this to the right or to the left

of her escort. Meeting at a crossing point of streets, the gentleman waits for the lady to pass first, and follows behind her. The head is not uncovered on meeting another gentleman, and the hat merely raised a few inches to a lady. The hair must not be straightened with a pocket comb in public, nor the moustache continually twisted between the fingers, actions to which we are unfortunately accustomed in our country.

It shows want of education to stare at people in the street; we simply pass by without taking any notice of them. Our face is our own private property, and not at the disposal of just any casual passer-by. Generally speaking, the best way of getting on in English countries, is to treat others as if they were non-existing. It is the custom to speak in an undertone in the streets and in public restaurants, and to desist from loud utterances. No one is supposed to possess the right of intruding upon the breathing space of others, by the waves of his own speech. It is considered a sign of ad manners to talk in a restaurant so loudly

as to be overheard beyond the precincts of the table at which one is seated; in dire contrast to the manners in use with the highest German Society, where it is thought quite the right thing to disturb those sitting near by carrying on conversation in so loud a tone that everyone can hear what is being said. Such trifles as these are the cause of the disregard often shown towards Germans in England.

Life in English Society is fenced in by a certain number of standard rules, which all those who want to belong to it must comply with. These rules are not by any means arbitrary, but rather founded on a fine sense of feeling for the rights of others and on the chivalric recognition of the privileges due to the fair sex.

Germany has mostly developed the French rules of Society, which do not always fit in with German character, and appear to observers pure affectation. As for instance, the ridiculous way of saluting an acquaintance in the street by lowering the hat to the ground, and of shrinking within themselves like the clasping of a pocket knife, when

bowing and addressing ladies with their "gnädig" (gracious) and gentlemen in the third person saying: "Have Mr. So-and-so perhaps noticed" etc., instead of "Have you noticed" etc., when asking Mr. So-and-so whether he had noticed, etc. The origin of such expressions is to be sought in the military system predominating in Germany. Social customs have developed in England quite independently of foreigners and their influence, and they consequently fit the English with perfect ease, like their skin, not like a garment bought second-hand, as with us.

Before proceeding to describe English Society in its various functions, I must first make a general remark regarding the anomaly striking the intelligent foreigner, viz.: that the English who in their domestic and political life strive after the fullest freedom, should submit to all kinds of social constraint.

This is no doubt an anomaly, and in fact the character of the English people is full of contradictions which defy any attempt at modelling so often indulged in by French critics. The character of the

English people grows up free and luxurious just like an English park, and cannot be forced into a cut-and-dried system. There is, however, an intimate correlation between the sense of political independence and the social restrictions of this nation, for only a people like the English, capable of voluntarily bowing to the rules of an established custom, can brook a large measure of political liberty without giving way to disorder and mob rule. Social restriction is the natural corrective of the political exuberance whereby, notwithstanding the democratic basis of government, the management of public business remains mainly in the hands of the educated classes.

Let us now cast a passing glance at the doings of these better classes. They consist of the aristocracy, who dictate the manners, fashions and customs; the wide expanse of country squires, those county families which constitute the real social and political power in modern England. The reader will remember the 455,377 persons living an independent life on inherited means. These constitute the root

whence these classes spring. Then there are the merchants in the towns, the lawyers, the medical men, clergymen, in brief, all the elements which are in England called the upper middle class, following the current though they do not control its direction. These form the fringe of Society, and are more or less tolerated by it. What really constitutes Society proper are the people who stay in London during the season from May till July, and who are principally recruited from the country gentry.

These circles own genuine property inherited from their forebears, and are on the whole entirely independent from the fluctuations of the London Stock Exchange. No better proof of this can be given than that during the slump of the last few years, luxury and style of living within these circles were quite unaffected by the general depression of the Stock Exchange. The usual stately hospitality reigned in Mayfair and Belgravia; there was no diminution in the row of carriages rolling along Rotten Row every afternoon; and thoroughbred horses were seen prancing in the park, though Consols

fell and millions were lost in the City. Occasionally a member of Society is caught, and swallowed up by the whirlwind of speculation, but this is exceptional, and as a general rule the family property is being held aloof from the gambling on 'Change, forming as it does the *rocher de bronce* of the British National wealth, the ancestral estate.

This self-contained financial independence is, strictly speaking, part and parcel of the English gentleman. "To work for a living," to be dependent for one's requirements on some one else, be it even the State, does not fit in with it. It is, however, overlooked, provided other circumstances make up for it, provided there are good family connections, as long as a sound education and perfect manners go with it; yet for all that, such people are not exactly treated as equals. The reader will understand how little chance there would be for the typical Prussian official or officer if this standard be employed, to be ranged as an English gentleman.

The liberal professions forming the upper middle class of the towns are now and then admitted to so-called "Society" if they

possess financial or political influence; but generally speaking, they remain outside and form their own sets, endeavouring to copy the style of the upper classes, often degenerating into snobbism. Characters typical of these classes have been drawn by Thackeray in a masterly manner.

I would maintain that in this Society of England, with its enormous social influence, exists one of the chief factors in favour of England's supremacy amongst the nations, and in the first instance over the Anglo-Saxon race. It is the ambition of the colonials of aspiring dispositions to belong to a good London club, just as it is that of the Yankee of Boston, New York or Philadelphia. This desire gives the mother country a firm hold on them, and always draws them back to London. While the stability of the Empire rests, unquestionably, in the first place on Lombard and Throgmorton streets, and in the second place on the Navy, its third support is English Society, which, with its exclusiveness and strict formalities, is one of the active ingredients of British influence throughout the world. The South

African millionaire and the North American Cotton King both tremble before it. To join Society is especially the ambition of the wives of merchant princes, and the members of *La haute finance.* And English Society, although proud and exclusive, is not unimplacable. The golden key does even there open the door.

Also in other parts of the civilised world, British prestige depends largely on its social aspect. The Anglomania of the upper classes in nearly all countries is due to it; it even makes itself felt frequently as a political factor in Acts of State. English fashions, English sports, English habits (down to "routs" and five o'clock teas) keep alive the nimbus of England, potent in Chancelleries and Courts.

The King of England is the pivot and head around which English Society moves, this powerful engine, which spreads its irresistible tentacles over the entire civilised world, thereby endowing the King with an influence much beyond the scope of his constitutional position. The man, who can delight millionaires, merely by shooting down their

partridges or by dining at their houses, is certainly an influential and powerful person, no matter what restrictions are imposed on him by Parliament and Constitution. The British crown has thus in our own times attained quite a new sphere of importance by the fact that English social forms have become cosmopolitan. Undoubtedly the Kaiser is the leader for Germany in fashions as well as in manners, and anyone who walks about Berlin cannot fail to notice this from the style of wearing the moustache. But England leads German fashionable society as regards sport and manners, and here again the King is their prototype. It may in itself be of little moment that one man sets the rule as to what kind of tie and what shape of hat the good Society of every land should wear. These things have, however, a deep typical meaning and exercise on this account now and then, a leading influence upon the framing of the world's history. Louis XIV. set the fashions of Europe at the time when the French armies overran Holland and Germany.

French Society has given up its front rank

to English Society, and here King Edward is at present no less influential than Louis XIV. was in his time.

Anyone who wants to understand English Society in its life and doings, must bear in mind, that these people have no actual profession. Their time is spent in social intercourse, sport and politics in the higher sense of the word. The modern refined Englishman differs from the Roman noble at the last period of the Republic, in devoting his time not solely to social duties and politics, but also to sport. Generally speaking, these classes in ancient Rome and modern England have many features in common, however they might differ in details.

How does the Society man in England spend his time? First of all, how does he divide the years to suit his way of living? Of course, I can here only state generalities; I know very well that the inclinations of individuals move in different directions. But with this proviso the annual programme, which I will now describe, may be taken as the usual one adopted by an English gentleman of the upper classes.

From the beginning of May till the middle or end of July lasts the London season proper—we will come to this directly. After that come two to three weeks at the seaside, a necessary adjunct in order to enable the nerves to recover a little from the inroads made by the season. Eastbourne, Scarborough, or some other fashionable watering place is resorted to. But there is not much time for this *dolce far niente* as the 12th of August is nearing, a very important day for English Society. On this day grouse shooting commences, and no one, lady or gentleman who wants to be somebody dare keep aloof. The country houses fill with guests, and on the morning of the 12th, shots resembling peleton firing are heard over the moors and heaths, where this coveted game is to be found. The 1st of September initiates partridge shooting, and pheasant shooting begins on the 1st of October. In this way the young idler spends between two and two and a half months with the gun and in agreeable intercourse with people of his set. Cards and flirting go hand-in-hand with the healthy exercise on the moors.

At the end of October, riding to hounds begins. Hunting the fox, the hare and the deer provides an exciting change from bird shooting, which by now has ceased to interest. The most liberal hospitality is here again generally to the fore. The hounds are followed from one country seat to another. Christmas gathers a good many members of Society once more in London, an agreeable diversion from life spent during nearly the whole winter in the country. After that, hunting is resumed and continued till the middle of February is reached. The mild climate predominating during this season enables the vigorous and never-weary English Society, both ladies and gentlemen, to indulge in this sport day by day.

When at the end of February the bleakness of the easterly winds sets in, then the Riviera and Monte Carlo prove seductive and enticing, and a month or two are pleasantly spent in the south of Europe.

This is how the fashionable young Englishman spends the year and certainly no one can say that he is wanting in *savoir vivre*. Quite on the contrary, he excels all other nations

in it. The mode of living, however, varies naturally a good deal, for he often leaves England as soon as Christmas is over, in order to hibernate in Egypt or in the Tropics. Other modifications of this programme are due to political exigencies. The member of Parliament must, as a rule, make his appearance in London already by February, at a time when his friends are still rummaging over the country or gambling at Monte Carlo. Each can follow his own inclinations at his own sweet will.

The social intercourse of the English Upper Classes is, as we have seen, in the main interwoven with the country, and as a natural consequence, town life is deprived of the nimbus surrounding it in Paris or Berlin. Berlin Society consists of officials, officers, and, perhaps, artists and men of learning, bound by their professions to the Capital of the Empire, which they leave for a summer residence in the country or at the seaside on vacations lasting anything from one to three months. English Society resides in the country, and abandons its country seat for about three months

during the summer in favour of its town house. In Germany, therefore, home comfort and luxury centre chiefly in large towns, whereas in England, they centre essentially in the country. There, in the huge old castles or modern country houses, surrounded by lordly parks and green lawns, we meet with a refined and patriarchal life found nowhere else, go where you like. The town houses of the good old families in Belgravia, Berkeley and Grosvenor Squares, etc., are old-fashioned and scarcely roomy enough for the stress of the increasing social intercourse of our days. This imparts to social life in London its unique and not always enticing character.

In the beautiful month of May, when

"A young man's fancy lightly turns to thoughts of love"

Society invades London. The roads round the parks fill with carriages; tall footmen, with immense white wigs, appear at the windows of the houses, the shutters of which had up till then been closed; in Rotten Row the crowd of ladies and gentlemen on horseback increases day by day.

Pall Mall and St. James' Street, the two principal Clubland thoroughfares, are alive with the typical slender, sun-burnt, elegantly attired men about town. In Regent Street, carriage follows carriage in the afternoon, between luncheon and tea, with ladies driving from one fashionable establishment to another where they do their shopping.

The Season has commenced.

The engagement book is brought to light, and soon invitations pour into the house, which must be carefully noted down so as to avoid appointments clashing with each other. Mrs. So-and-so informs Mr. So-and-so on which afternoon she is "at home." Lady X has a "reception" or small dance on a certain afternoon to which Mr. Y is invited. Mrs. and Mr. Jones request the honor of Mr. Smith's company to dinner on a given day. This is the commencement, and the more we get into the month of June, the heavier the deluge of social events.

They all turn up again—the good old faces of last year. The season brings them back again to London from all parts of England,

yea, even from the four corners of the earth.

Here is the old 70-year-old lady, dressed like a young woman of 20; there is the dandy, whom we specially noticed last year because his waist was laced as tightly as that of a girl at her first ball. We miss here and there a face. Death has been gathering in his harvest; financial ruin has destroyed the family estate, or a scandal ending with a divorce is still too fresh in the people's memory. "Where is Lady X?" some one asked Lord X at the beginning of a season. "Do you mean the one with dark hair who went off with Lord Y?" "No, I mean the last one, the fair one." "Oh, she decamped three weeks ago with my groom!" That is the drawback of *mariages de convenance*, which are becoming more and more the custom in English society. The heart claims its right and then comes the "Scandal in High Life" or the "West End Scandal" as the placards of the daily papers put it.

Of the various invitations in London, those to dinner are certainly the most

pleasing, principally because the number of guests so invited is in accordance with the space available at the host's residence. The dinner hour is in winter 8 o'clock, and in summer often 9 p.m. The guests arrive punctually and are ushered by the servant into the drawing-room on the first floor. A servant in uniform stationed here, asks: "What name, Sir?" On being told the name, he opens the door widely and announces it with a loud voice. He has often to call from four to six names at one time, when the whole party of an invited family arrives together, "Lord X and Lady X, the Honourable Miss Y," etc. When the door opens, the lady of the house stretches forth her hand with a smile, "Oh, Dr. Peters, I am *so* glad to see you!" Compliments are then exchanged with the master of the house, who whispers in your ear the name of the lady to be taken down to dinner, and if she is present the introduction takes place there and then.

It is not usual to introduce anyone else of the party.

When all guests have arrived—and they

are punctual in this country—they descend the stairs in pairs to the dining-room, which is generally on the ground floor. As is the custom with us, the seats are allocated by cards bearing the names of the guests. No general conversation takes place during dinner, every man as a rule conversing with his partner and with the lady on his left. The dishes are generally of a light kind and tasty, the table always being artistically decorated with flowers. Not much wine is being drunk, generally none but champagne, the glasses being re-filled from time to time by servants moving noiselessly about. With the dessert, sweet wine is frequently passed around.

The conversation is generally very commonplace and the topics of conversation are typical—the latest novel, the newest play, the latest sporting event. Politics are tabooed except between old acquaintances. Being a foreigner, I often had opportunities at dinner-parties for observing the artless ignorance of Society as regards all things outside England. Some one enquires about Germany. "What place is Germany?" "Is Germany not a

watering-place?" asks an elderly lady. "You had lately a national calamity in your country," remarks a bishop. "Not that I know of, I am from North Germany." "Well you had an earthquake?" He refers to the fall of the Campanile at Venice. Very amusing is the arrogance of some people when trying to be pleasant. "I should not have taken you for a foreigner, you are just like an Englishman." "I trust not; I do not think I have lost my nationality." "Is it possible that you would not like to be English?" "Would you like to be German?" "No, but then," and so on. They do not seem to see that it may hurt a stranger's feelings to suppose that he would like to be English in preference to his own nationality.

When I go to any party, I know pretty well beforehand what conversation will be expected of me in the evening. It is quite natural, of course, that I should talk about Africa, for that is my speciality. What I mean is, that the topics of conversation can be predicted beforehand in this country more so than anywhere else, and they are,

in all conscience, commonplace enough everywhere. "Have you seen the *Darling of the Gods?*" "Have you read the 'Eternal City?'" and so on. Every publisher ought to aim at suggesting such a question in Society about any book brought out by him. The success of the book would be quite sure. It would be bought even though not read. I wished my publisher would take this hint to have this book talked about.

When dinner is at an end, after about an hour and a half, the lady of the house rises and all the ladies follow suit; next the gentlemen rise in their turn and the one nearest the door opens it for the ladies. The ladies withdraw to the drawing-room where coffee is served, whilst the gentlemen resume their seats, and then the decanters are passed round with good claret or port wine, of which, however, but little is partaken. Then coffee, with liqueurs, small cigars (whiffs), or cigarettes are handed round; conversation becomes freer and more general, the gentlemen move closer, and once in a while a good anecdote or joke is told. After about thirty minutes thus spent, our host

rises with the words: "Gentlemen, shall we join the ladies?" whereupon we go up to the drawing-room; we listen to a song or a tune on the piano; there is some conversation and a little flirting and the party breaks up. With a "Don't *you* go yet," the lady of the house sometimes asks a few in an undertone to remain, after the others have gone, to a gathering of the more intimate circle. During the season this is a rare occurrence, for the guests are mostly otherwise engaged for the evening, and so, no doubt, are the hosts.

Our dinner-party is finished by ten or half-past ten, and we repair to a reception in another part of the West End. There, quite a different picture awaits us, viz., a typical aspect of London during the season. The entire house, except kitchens and bedrooms, is requisitioned for a reception, offering accommodation for barely 200 persons, and yet close upon 1,000 invitations have been sent out. Long before we reach the house we perceive the long row of carriages and cabs bearing the guests as at a State ball in Berlin, and after a long wait our carriage

stops in front of the door. Broad mats or carpets lead into the hall; we deposit our overcoats in return for a ticket, but our opera hat we may keep or give up; there is no rule on this point, nor are white gloves a *conditio sine qua non*. We present our cards of invitation and mention our names, as at the dinner-party, to a gigantic gorgeously arrayed butler, who shouts them into the reception-room. There we come upon our hosts—say the Duke and Duchess X, with a smiling face, holding out their hands and assuring us how very pleased they are that we of all others should have put in an appearance. "So good of you to come." Somewhat doubtful at this assurance which our hosts must repeat 500 to 600 times in the course of the evening, we push our way into the crowd. Slowly, step by step, just as at a crowded fair or race meeting, we advance. To our left an Hungarian band in national costume rattles away for all it is worth in order to bring animation into the almost suffocated crowd. We almost succumb to the stereotyped "How d'ye do?" or "How are you?" with which

acquaintances greet each other in front of us, behind us, to our right and to our left, reminding us of our Goethe's, "Die ganze Menge strebt nach oben, Du glaubst zu schieben und du wirst geschoben." (The motto "upward" all around is given. Thou think'st thou drivest although in fact thou'rt driven.) The current runs in one distinct direction, towards a long sideboard in a room to the back covered with refreshments of all kinds, more especially champagne, various cups, seltzers and lemonades. Before this table there is a continuous, silent, but none the less stubborn fight going on, similar to that for the boats on a sinking ocean steamer. The first business of the agenda is to get near the refreshments; next to get hold of a glass of champagne, and the last, but by no means the least, to swallow it before a neighbour capsizes it with his elbow over our snow-white shirt front.

There is many a slip——

This, happily accomplished, we try to solve a second and no less difficult technical problem, viz., to escape from this crowd

to work our way back to our coat and to regain the street. It is advisable for this purpose, like the sailing vessel in the tropics watches for a current of air, so to look for and fall in with a countercurrent to take us out of this struggling mass.

With a bit of good luck we at last reach the outside without broken bones.

This is a typical London reception. The social purpose is a mystery to me, unless its function be to prepare us poor mortals already here in this world for purgatory in the hereafter, or to teach us what hell must be like.

But on we go, our course is not yet run, the evening is not yet over. It is now a quarter to twelve, the very time for the ball in Park Lane, the next number on our programme. The introduction is the same as at the dinner-party and reception, only in this case our names are not called out into the hall, from where the sound of waltzing reaches us. The unlucky victims of the evening, the hosts, are standing at the door, apparently worn out, but bidding us welcome with the inevitable smile. We see

dancing pairs closely surrounded by a rigidly stagnant, watching crowd, resembling nothing more than the spluttering in a fast freezing stream. Here, too, for a space accommodating about 150 persons a thousand invitations have been issued and, as a consequence, we are almost suffocated. As soon as the dance is finished the couples hurry into the refreshment room, in which the same conditions prevail as we noted in the case of the reception ; some guests sit on the stairs, window-sills or any odd corners where they carry on a sweet flirtation, forgetful of the stifling atmosphere, and rendering our hard fight for the open still harder. At last we breathe the fresh night air and hurry to our club to refresh ourselves with a glass of iced whisky and soda and to recover from the fatigues and perils of the evening, before seeking our well-earned repose. A beautiful alternative to the receptions in the shape of "at homes," are the garden parties usually held between four and seven in the afternoon.

Here we can admire the graceful beauty of English country life and are under the

magic spell of comfort derived from the generous hospitality of English Society. These garden parties are arranged at some country seat on the banks of the Thames, with its green lawns and shady trees; or we are surprised to detect such a garden in the midst of dusty London, behind one of those high walls, which often have set us thinking of what they might conceal. A band plays, and tents are erected on the lawns, or tables are placed under the shady trees, where refreshments of all kinds, such as tea, cooling drinks, bread and butter, cakes and fruit are at our disposal for the taking. The guests move freely about, the gentlemen in black coats and charming girls in light summer dresses; acquaintances are struck and the time passes in cheerful chat. This is genuine hospitality and true enjoyment of life.

It is hardly credible that numerous people dawdle away their time with these meaningless amusements, yet such is the case. Once in a while an evening is given to a theatre, by this means filling up the dinner time, the rest not being interfered

with and the general items take their course with but slight variations. My readers will now understand why especially the young ladies of English Society hurry at the end of the season to the sea-side in order to purify their systems from all the impurities they have inhaled. They are the principal martyrs, for, to them, the season means the chance for marriage. They are somehow put up as at an auction and knocked down to the highest bidder. Titles and above all money are the prices at which beauty is disposed of in the Society of this country. No one, however, is expected here to buy a pig in the poke. The various evening costumes give chances enough to form an opinion of the physical qualities of the wearer, whilst the sports provide an accurate test of the health and good condition all round.

It is, therefore, not to be wondered at that the cultivation of beauty plays an important part in the life of an English society lady, considering that her beauty is her stock in trade which endows her at one blow with all those things, to acquire which man must devote years of energy—rank,

money and amusements. The care of skin and hands has developed in England to an extent formerly unheard of, the whole of the morning sometimes being given over to it.

Being roused from her sleep, after a night's hard work, between seven and eight o'clock, our young lady stretches herself, draws a dozen long and deep breaths to inhale the fresh morning air entering through the open window and takes a cold plunge. Then she wraps herself in her bathing-gown and rings for her maid, who is usually trained in massage, or perhaps calls in the services of a professional masseuse. The body is kneaded and stroked, so that the muscles regain their natural elasticity.

Breakfast is served at about nine o'clock, and partaken of generally in riding dress. This is succeeded by a ride in Rotten Row, often with the hair flowing from under her tam-o'-shanter, but more often with a sailor hat with a light veil, or a top hat. Rotten Row is the meeting ground for London Society in the morning between eight and half past twelve. It is not a very pleasant riding ground for the passionate devotee, for it

is literally swarming with ladies and gentlemen on horseback, whilst in the side paths loungers, with the unimpeachable high hat, stroll about, and elegantly dressed ladies and gentlemen occupy chairs, admiring and frequently nodding to fair riders. The great number of excellent horses cannot fail to attract notice. The English lady stately seated on a thoroughbred presents a graceful and elegant appearance, whereas the English gentleman is seen to more advantage on his steeple chase hunter than in the Park. He is too much at ease to suit continental taste, he does not hold the reins tightly enough; briefly said, he does not trouble about smartness in riding. The English, brought up in the saddle almost from their very infancy, are more natural riders, unrivalled in all kinds of sport such as hunting, races, polo and others.

I have followed the hounds on horseback in England and Germany, but for reckless disregard for the horses and their own necks in the bargain, the British rider easily carries off the palm.

But do not let us lose sight of our young

lady friend. She spends not more than one hour in the park, for the morning makes further claims. She reaches home by about eleven o'clock, replaces the riding costume by a comfortable morning attire, attends to her correspondence, accepting or declining invitations, writing private letters, etc. Now the carriage is announced, and the short hour till luncheon is served is employed in making calls and visiting her manicurist or chiropodist.

Luncheon is taken with friends; it is of simple, but wholesome fare, for the morning's hard work has given her a healthy appetite.

No sooner is luncheon over, when she goes to Lord's ground to watch a cricket match or to the river to attend a boat-race or some similar event, or else to take a hand at lawn tennis. At half-past four the house claims her presence; she has to change her dress, for the time is approaching when visits have to be paid. A friend may expect her to tea, followed by a game of bridge for high stakes. I am told that school-girls sometimes lose as much as £70 at bridge

after tea. Society ladies frequently lose very heavily to gentlemen, and as they do not like to confess these losses to their husbands or fathers, they have to settle their debts privately with their creditors.

At seven o'clock games are at an end and now comes the time to dress for the evening and to submit to the tactics of the hair-dresser.

A young Englishman passes the mornings and afternoons during the season very much in the same way as a young lady, only his early tonic before rising asks for something stronger than the mere imbibing of fresh air, in the shape of a glass of milk with curaçao, or a whisky and soda as an eye-opener before he gets into his bath which is scented in order to make it more invigorating.

For the preceding evening had not come to a close with the ball, but dragged on with a game of cards at his club, followed perchance by a late supper with a lady friend in a private house at St. John's Wood.

I am sketching English Society life as I have seen it, with its alluring features as well as with its dangers, and nobody can

fail being struck by its utter recklessness and shallowness. People who dawdle away day after day, and year after year in such frivolous manner must needs remain superficial. There is practically no time left them for attending to their spiritual wants or even for instructive reading. The worst of it is that this style of living is not confined to the London period, but continued as a rule in the country, differing there only in so far, as the greater part of the day is devoted to sport. The evening, however, is spent in a late dinner, cards, billiards and small dances, and every one retires earlier in the night to his bedroom in order to rise again at an early hour. Yet here as well, an hour's devotion to study forms no part of the day's function.

This, then, is the ultimate reason for the deterioration of English literature. If English Society has no time to read a serious book, it is not astonishing that English authors have left off writing them, for by the sale of their books they make their living. This has led to the ever-increasing output of the short story, which has become the sole

intellectual sustenance of the upper ten thousand, and similarly the leading articles of newspapers are sliced up into short, spicy and catching paragraphs. The spiritual stomach of the nation is losing the capacity for the digestion of heavier pabulum. The old three-volumed novel of the Dickens period has disappeared, and has given way to the one-volume novel. All this is undoubtedly a sign of spiritual decay, and so is the growing disinclination to be burdened with the responsibility of a regular profession. It is always and everywhere a serious *Mene Tekel* for a nation when its upper classes have no genuine object in life, but are mere pleasure seekers. This signalised the degeneration of ancient imperial Rome. We Germans have, perhaps, not much cause to look down with pharisaical scorn upon this state of affairs in the life of the English people; let us rather ask ourselves whether we would steer clear of these rocks, if we were blessed with greater affluence. 'In our country the educated higher classes endeavour to find employment in the Government or military service, chiefly because it bestows

upon them a secure livelihood, and, above all things, a social standing which is not the case in England.

And yet in spite of all these faults, I refuse to believe that the English nation is emasculating. By its sports, if by nothing else, these people are saved from a real degeneration such as overtook Rome with such frightful suddenness. There can be no danger of physical decay, as long as the young men of all classes take active part in the chase, in horse-taming, in boxing, and in tennis and football. The chief symptom of a national degeneration, inceptive sexual depravity, can, broadly speaking, not be traced in England.

The *demi-monde* of London leads an extravagant and luxurious life, but is entirely outside the social pale, and has not the mind-enslaving hold upon the young man as, say, in Paris. The English of either sex are not more moral than Germans, but it is deemed "shocking" to call things by their right names, and vice, where it does exist, hides its face from the public gaze. The paramour is in English Society, too, an institution side by side with the wedded husband, but as a

scandal would ostracise from society, those concerned spare no means to remain undetected. I admit that this barrier against immorality is only weak, but in this case hypocrisy is useful to Society and to the State at large. Prostitution as we know it does not exist in England, anyhow officially. The law takes no cognisance of prostitutes, and consequently does nothing to control or superintend them, acting on the principal of personal liberty and the Habeas Corpus Act. The Lords Spiritual decline to interfere in this matter, because "it would imply a direct acknowledgment of existing immorality." The police have no power to deal on special lines with these elements of the population. It is simply considered a private concern of the interested parties.

That prostitution really does exist and greatly flourishes is easily found out during a walk through Piccadilly or Soho, so that, as a matter of fact, the position taken up by the Conservative and clerical lawgivers is an ostrich policy; but to mention such a question before Parliament would in itself be "shocking." I could not avoid at least

referring to this, as it is within the radius and scope of social life.

But now to a more charming subject—let us follow Society into the country. There the world-renowned hospitality shows itself in its full charm. No one should refuse an invitation to a country seat, though it may be only for the "week end," from Friday afternoon till Monday midday. The train brings us after a short ride of from one to two hours to our hosts; our room is pointed out to us, the butler unpacks our belongings and informs us that dinner will be ready at 7. He asks whether we would like a cup of tea, a question which we answer in the negative, as we find that we have only half an hour to dress. For even at family-gatherings in the country, whether a large company is present or we are merely a private circle, dress-coat and white tie must be worn. We proceed to the drawing room, and are kindly and genially bidden welcome; the meal is succulent and simple, whilst drinks are sparingly served. This varies of course with different people, but I am now speaking of the good old English gentry.

We are as much at our ease, as if we were in our own homes. The times for the meals are pointed out, and often the day's programme given out early in the morning. But we can do just as we please. If you want to be left alone, or indulge in an excursion, nobody feels offended, neither would you be surprised to be told at luncheon that the host has left for London or anywhere else without telling you. Only at the evening meal you must put in a punctual appearance as long as your stay lasts.

In this combination of putting openheartedly at your disposal all that house and stables offer, with the greatest personal freedom to pass your time in your own way, English hospitality is unique. Something similar is found with our great families; but amongst our middle classes the no doubt well-meant feeling, that a guest ought to be entertained and always personally looked after, interferes with real home comfort, for it generates in the guest a suspicion that he may be a trouble and prevents him from enjoying himself freely. English hospitality is unsurpassed in form and extensiveness.

A charming adjunct to English country life is the sojourn at seaside places, differing in every essential from the life at watering places of any other country; again because here, too, the several sports are part and parcel of the daily routine. English seaside places are not merely pleasure resorts like Ostend and Biarritz, nor are they restricted to laziness on the beach like Norderney or Swinemuende. At Eastbourne and Scarborough water sports and horse-riding are indulged in from morning till night, beside the inevitable cricket and lawn tennis.

The only way to give a correct illustration is to describe a normal day at Eastbourne, which I know better than any other seaside resort. You stay either at a comfortable hotel, or at a boarding-house, but the general rule for a family is to "take rooms" and to, in a manner, establish a household of your own, the landlady acting as cook. You pay for your meals as you order them, or do your own marketing. Cooking is included in the weekly rent which varies with the situation and the number and size of rooms.

Eastbourne is situated on the east point of Beachy Head, the highest elevation on the south coast of England, and is surrounded by the Downs, a chain of hills running all along the Channel. You survey a grandiose scenery when standing on the chalk cliff of Beachy Head at an altitude of above 600 feet, the wide blue sea straight down under your feet and the green, hilly landscape behind you. A more bracing or more aromatic air than this combination of ozone from the sea and the perfume of the heather is not to be found anywhere.

Now to the routine. At 6.30 we rise, after a healthy night's rest with open windows, at the Burlington Hotel. Our first view is the sea smiling in the reflection of the early morning sun and variegating in all and sundry shades, and with delight we inhale the invigorating atmosphere impregnated with the salt of the ocean. Swiftly we get into a light covering and hasten to the beach for a refreshing dip. On we swim until we look upon the chalk cliff of Beachy Head with its full expanse; then we return, and after once more breasting the breakers, we hasten to

the hotel to dress for the morning. We may still have a little time at our disposal for a walk on the parade before breakfast.

This meal is taken at 8 a.m., and who could describe its simple and succulent dishes. You can reproduce in print the bill of fare, but not the feeling of health and briskness with which you enter upon it. Porridge with glorious fresh milk starts the feast, followed in turn by soles freshly caught, or half a lobster just emerged from the deep, or bright red shrimps, new laid eggs, beef-steak, cold ham and ox tongue, honey, marmalade or fruit, with tea or coffee. That tickles the palate, that puts strength into us; we feel ready to conquer the whole world.

After breakfast we loll about with a light cigar and the morning paper, until our horse is brought to the door. We get into the saddle, and off we go in a light trot towards Beachy Head. We are soon nearing the hill, and our horse feeling the soft velvety green under its hoofs breaks out into a gallop and races up to the top. There we see before us the undulating ground, an ideal field for trotting and jumping. To the left beneath us

is the eternal ocean, to the right our eyes gaze upon the smiling English landscape, with its grass fields and parks, its townships and hamlets. Onward we go, twelve, fifteen miles towards Newhaven; then we wend our way back and re-enter Eastbourne between 11 and noon. A glass of iced milk and soda allays our thirst, and we soon throw off the damp riding suit, to be in time for the promenade concert, enlivening the parade from 12 to 1 p.m. There we can feast our eyes on the fair daughters of Albion, some wandering about aimlessly with their hair flowing loosely about their backs (after their sea-bath), or sitting about with gentlemen, all in light attire.

One o'clock is luncheon time. Huge cold roasts and immense meat-pies, with all kinds of salads stand on side tables; you select anything according to fancy, moistening your lips with a glass of ale or stout, or perhaps German lager beer, whilst a band in an adjoining room dispenses the light, graceful airs of English or German music.

The afternoon is again devoted to out-of-door life. You take a seat to go for a drive

in a mail coach, or a motor car, to the old ruin at Pevensey; or else you go to Devonshire Park in order to witness a match, unless you prefer taking a sailing boat to float out into the blue sea.

At 5 p.m. beach life is at its height. If the tide is low and the beach is free, it is advisable to divest yourself of boots and stockings and to walk about on the soft damp sand. You pick up mussels, or odd-looking plants, and the blood circulates merrily through your veins. Everywhere young and old are astir; the children with wooden spades and tiny pails, and the adults sit or lie lazily on the sand, or else stroll about on sand or seaweed.

Deeper sinks the sun, and we retrace our steps to the Hotel, for time has now arrived to dress for the evening. The vehicles return from their excursions and unload their passengers for dinner. Here a four-in-hand turns round the corner, the driver in silver-grey high hat, whilst the guard sounds the horn merrily; then there stops a four-horsed brake just returned from Beachy Head, and deposits its fares outside the Burlington Hotel.

The dinner is served with a band playing; it is in the French style, drawn out too long, and bears no comparison with breakfast and luncheon. After dinner you may go to a theatre, where a London troupe is acting, or you listen to a music-hall performance on the pier with the sea breaking under you; or, again, you watch the fireworks in Devonshire Park; or, maybe, you prefer sitting on the parade and revelling in the strains of the municipal band. Twice a week small dances are given at the hotel, but the guests fresh from the torture of the London season give them a wide field.

After 11 p.m. quiet prevails on the parade and in the streets. In the east the moon rises transfiguring the watery expanse with its pale halo. One more visit to the parade, and our day comes to an end under the lofty impress of almighty Nature. Tired yet cheerful, we lie down for a night's rest. From outside the roar and the tremor of the waves invades our room and soon sends us into a sound sleep, undisturbed by dream, to awaken to a new morn full of pure joys and healthy bodily exercise.

Such is the day at an English seaside resort.

It would lead us too far, and is beyond our scope, to trace English society through all the diverse labyrinths of its movements. I only wished to show that we find here essentially a *dolce far niente*, but by no means a general laziness, leave alone a life of vice. The taste of the English populace has remained, even in the highest classes, sound. If they have given up working for the accumulation of worldly goods, it is because they are possessed of sufficient means, and can do without adding to their wealth. Is there a nation which would act differently? The national energy finds vent now through the valve of sports on land and on water.

The Derby at Epsom, the Henley rowing regatta on the Upper Thames, the sailing-boat regattas at Cowes, form the culminating points of this side of English society life.

But every weekday that God sends has its own sports, in which the people at large partake, if not personally, anyhow mentally. A foreigner is unable to understand such passionate interest; I, for one, have not

fathomed the depths of moral consequence whether an English or an Australian team wins a cricket match, and as regards horse-racing, I lean towards the opinion of the Shah of Persia, who being asked whether he would like to go to the Derby, answered "What is the Derby?" "At the Derby horses run, and the one which is the fastest wins." Solomonic and characteristic came the Shah's reply: "That one horse runs faster than another, I have known since I was a baby. Which one in this special case runs quickest is of no interest whatever to me!" My open confession will excuse me from describing a horse race or any match.

But I must not forget speaking of club life, with its vast influences upon the whole social doings of Englishmen. Club really denotes a pestle or a stick to beat with, and why this expression is being used for a social circle, I am unable to tell. It is characteristic of England to give birth to a social institution and then to invest it with a name which the whole civilised world adopts. The word "club" defies translating into any

foreign language, just like gentleman, sport, match and others. The idea is to offer to a closed circle of members home comforts combined with the advantages of hotel life, everyone being his own master. Therefore, members take no notice of each other; they need not be acquainted with one another, and enter or leave without as much as a greeting. In this respect the club differs essentially from a German "Verein." And yet applicants are carefully enquired into and the membership in a high-class English club is, rightly, sufficient social introduction all over the world, similar to the officers' *Commission* in a crack German regiment.

The club offers to its members a respectable abode for eating and drinking, reading and writing, billiards and games at cards, etc. It is, as a rule, commodious and often luxuriously fitted up. The high-class clubs have, generally, houses of their own erected after some special prototype, *e.g.*, the Reform Club on the model of the Palazzo Farnese in Rome and the Army and Navy Club in the Venetian style. The number of clubs is legion and can hardly be approximately

stated. There are the Athenæum, the Carlton, the Cobden, the Constitutional, the Conservative, Boodle's (the oldest of all), the Marlborough (the most exclusive), St. James', the Grosvenor; the Travellers', the United Service, to mention only a few of the best. There are social, political and artists' clubs; yea, on closer inspection, clubs for every profession and class, and, maybe, even for a whim or fad, and club life is unquestionably the greatest characteristic of English life.

A description of English society in all its phases would fill a book; it is worth while doing, but beyond my present scope. What I have said will be sufficient to show striking peculiarities. Possibly I have dealt too briefly with the busily-employed elements, and thereby raised the false impression in my readers that enjoyment of life is the sole aim pursued by the higher classes of the British nation; that the latter is by no means the case the reader must, however, have learned from the preceding chapters. Neither must we forget that the elements I have mapped out in this chapter form the men engaged in practical politics. The bulk

of the statesmen in which English history abounds is drawn from the leisured well-to-do, and the question may be raised whether it does not pay a nation to evolve such a strata of men in independent circumstances for the management of its public affairs. The calm deliberation and the daring which led to the essential achievements of British Imperial policy must, after all, be traced to the fact that not paid officials did and do the actual work, but independent gentlemen, that "distinguished class," the want of which in Germany Bismarck deplored so deeply.

One thing is sure, viz.: that only an Empire such as Great Britain can indulge in so wide an expanse of economically free and independent classes. For the diamonds and pearls, so lavishly worn at balls and receptions by English ladies, do not represent the labour of one nation, but the tribute of a planet. Hundreds of thousands of English can take life easily, because millions amongst all races work for them. English Society is not merely the cream of one single nation, but the zenith of an unbounded world-embracing Empire.

CHAPTER X.

THE BRITISH AND THEIR EMPIRE.

THE Union Jack covered, in 1902–3, an area of 11,516,821 square miles. All the continents of the earth, together with the islands, do not contain more than 51,875,000. Thus Great Britain exercises direct rule over about two-ninths of our planet. To that must be added Egypt which, though formally still under Turkish suzerainty, is to all intents and purposes, a British Dependency—with 400,000 square miles, and the Anglo-Egyptian Soudán, with approximately 1,000,000 square miles. British sovereignty, therefore, extends over about 13,000,000 square miles, or a quarter of the earth, and represents the greatest and most dowerful Empire known to history.

Of other modern Empires, Russia, with her European and Asiatic possessions of 8,660,395 square miles, comes next in point of territory, the proportion being about two to three. The German Empire, comprising, as it does, in Europe, 208,803 square miles, is less in size than $\frac{1}{42}$ of the British Empire, and compares with it, inclusive of its over-sea possessions of 1,027,820 square miles, as 1 to 9.

Such comparisons, however, do not represent a clear illustration of the proportions of those three world powers. Of more striking effect is a comparison of the numbers of their populations. In 1902–3, the British Empire had 394,436,111 inhabitants; Russia, 129,004,514; and Germany (including her colonies), not quite 70,000,000. In point of population, the British Empire, therefore, surpasses Russia more than three times, and Germany more than five and a half times. Britain's proportion to the whole existing number of human beings is about 1 to 4.

When examining the colonizing work done by the Anglo-Saxon race, it is necessary

to add to these statistics the figures representing the United States of North America with their Dependencies. For, considered historically, the U.S.A. is practically an offspring of English expansion. Her territory (inclusive of Alaska), comprises in round numbers, 3,560,000 square miles. To that the area of her dependencies (Cuba, the Philippines, etc.) must be added with 176,294 square miles, making in all, 3,736,000 square miles. The entire territory ruled by the Anglo-Saxons, therefore, comprises more than 15,000,000 square miles; its proportion to all the land on earth being about as 1 to $3\frac{1}{2}$. The total number of Anglo-Saxons amounted in 1902–3, in round figures, to 134,000,000, to which the United States contributed 77,000,000, and Great Britain, with her Colonies, 57,000,000.

My reason for beginning this chapter with these dry statistics is, that they represent the essence of what is to follow. They focus, so to say, the immense civilisatory work performed by the Anglo-Saxon race on our planet—a work, compared with

which all the achievements of the former so-called world-empires sink into insignificance, not excepting even Rome, which, after all, restricted her activity to the south of Europe and the Mediterranean basin, and always remained a continental power. Not only does the sun never set in the British Empire, but every moment there is somewhere within its boundaries, morning and evening, noon and midnight. The sound of the British morning tattoo following "the sun, keeps company with the hours of the day and encircles the globe with an unbroken chain of martial notes."

But of greater importance than this almost uninterrupted continuity of the British Empire from east to west is its expanse from north to south, from the Poles to the Equator. For, it is owing to this longitudinal extension that Britain possesses within her Empire all zones, every climate and every condition of soil existing on our planet. Aristoteles declared that to be "autarkos"—*i.e.*, self-supporting and able to satisfy within itself all its requirements and material wants—is the

fundamental principle of a perfect commonwealth. In the British Empire, and here alone, this requirement has been fulfilled for the first time in the history of the human race. The "Greater Britain" of to-day does not need any foreign state to supply her markets with all that the heart of man desires. The Arctic region of Labrador supplies whalebone; Central Africa, ivory; Canada brings wheat, timber and furs; Australia, meat, wool, cereals and wine; South Africa provides the world with gold and precious stones, ostrich feathers and mohair, and also with wool and wine. India produces rice and cotton, jute and indigo, wheat and spices; Ceylon, coffee, tea, cocoa, and vanilla; the West Indies, tobacco and sugar, rum and coffee; the Indian Ocean gives precious pearls; from West Africa come rubber, gold, orchil and vegetable oils; from Somaliland, skins and ostrich feathers; from Egypt, cotton and wheat. But why should I continue enumerating? Every international market report may complete the list.

It is true that, to-day, the Empire is not

yet able to fully supply all its requirements in all those articles, but the fundamental conditions for such an "autarchy" exist in the wide territories covered by the Union Jack, and, considered from the historian's point of view, that is the main issue. Great Britain's statesmen have prepared the large warp upon which a gigantic economic fabric of that kind may be woven; it remains for the individuals to seize the opportunities thus offered for developing this "autarchy" in all its details, as well as in its comprehensive economic significance.

When looking over this conglomeration of countries and regarding it in its political aspect, we find nearly as many different political and national, as physical gradations represented in it. First, we have Great Britain and Ireland, forming the real centre of gravity of the whole complex. Then there are the self-governing colonies, viz., the Commonwealth of Australia, New Zealand, Cape Colony, Natal, Canada, Newfoundland and Labrador. Next comes the Indian Empire—a subjugated territory

"pure simple," ruled by Great Britain, by virtue of the right of conquest—and Egypt, with the British Soudan, where it was also the power of the sword which gave her the right to command. Then we have the colonies with partial self-government, viz., Malta, Cyprus, Mauritius and its dependencies, Bermuda, British Guiana, Bahamas, Barbados, Jamaica and the Turks Islands, the Leeward Islands, Trinidad and Tobago and the Windward Islands. Next range the colonies governed direct by Great Britain, viz., Gibraltar, Ceylon, Straits Settlements, Hong Kong, Labuan, British New Guinea, Fiji, the Seychelles, Orange River Colony, Transvaal, Lagos, Gold Goast, Sierra Leone, Gambia, St. Helena, Ascension, British Honduras and the Falkland Islands with St. Georgia. Another class of colonial possessions are Rhodesia and North Borneo, which are administered by chartered companies. The list concludes with the Protectorates, viz., the Federated Malay States, Wei-hai-wai, Sarawak, Tonga and the Pacific Islands, Basutoland, Bechuanaland, the Central African Protectorate, the East

African Protectorate, Uganda, Zanzibar, Northern Nigeria, Southern Nigeria, Lagos Protectorate (adjoining the Lagos Colony); then the protected territories of the Gold Coast, Sierra Leone, Gambia and Somaliland.

This shows, that Britain's statesmen do not attach any importance whatever to the political form by means of which they exercise their rule, but they adapt that form to local requirements. All centralisation and red tape is eschewed. Everything grows up naturally and in keeping with its origin and environment; exactly as was the case with London and English life in general. It is always the same practical element—the characteristic of the Low-German races—which pervades everything, and to which everything owes its origin as well as its own particular character. One fundamental and essential principle, however, is everywhere maintained, viz., that Britons rule in those countries, and that the latter are open to Anglo-Saxon enterprise. The British gentry, from whose ranks the civil servants are mostly taken, and the

City of London, which undertakes the work of development, divide amongst themselves the profits arising out of this world-dominion, just as the Roman aristocracy went halves with the "equited" in the spoils of the conquered provinces. It is surprising, how, notwithstanding the differences in their respective methods of initiation and political forms, the comparison of the British with the Roman Empire will force itself into notice again and again.

The methods of initiation differ in two respects. The Roman conquest originated with the State and was founded upon the power of the sword. The British conquest is essentially the work of individuals and based upon reasons of economic character. Yet British conquest, too, is marked by heroic deeds of brave men in both hemispheres. On the Hudson, as on the St. Lawrence, in the valleys of the Ganges, as well as on the shores of the Indian and the Pacific Oceans, the tenacious and cool-headed courage of the Anglo-Saxon race has done deeds of heroism, comparing favourably with the most brilliant and

glorious achievements known to history. The names of men like Sir Francis Drake and Sir Walter Raleigh, Lord Clive and Warren Hastings, Wolfe and Nelson, will shine through the centuries to come as great and noble as any among the civilizing pioneers of humanity. On the other hand, it must be admitted that Great Britain's world-power owes only in a minor degree its origin to force of arms and warlike deeds. The great enterprises of the so-called world-empires of antiquity, the great dynasties of Asia Minor, the Empire of Alexander and the Roman Empire, at whose boundaries the legions stood on guard, always originated in the conscious intention to conquer, while, on the whole, the British Empire grew up unconsciously, as it were —I might almost say, often accidentally— out of necessities which were mostly of an economic nature—and that is the main difference between the two.

The farmer, who in the forests of Pennsylvania cleared with his axe the place for his homestead, or the clerk who, in a Bombay office, made up his accounts, were certainly

unaware that their work was destined to contribute to the building up of an English world-empire; nor was one of them aware that on the other side of the earth work like that performed by the other one was going on. It was like the formation of a coral reef; the coral animal, following the pursuits of its diminutive life, has no idea that it helps to build up the foundations of new countries and continents. Thus, the God of History uses as material for his grandest creations individual exertions, apparently directed upon entirely egotistic and paltry aims. The whole history of Britain's colonial policy bears the stamp of this natural unconscious growth. "We seem to have conquered and populated half the world in a fit of absent-mindedness," says Seeley in his book "Expansion of England." On the other hand, it must be admitted that, since the time of Elizabeth, expansion of her colonial possessions and acquisition of new territories has constantly been one of England's political aims. Even though the State was far from seriously pursuing a theoretically planned world policy, the in-

corporation of new territories beyond the sea has always been considered an important means for expanding trade and increasing the national power. It was only because the leading spirits constantly kept this policy in view, that the individuals found a basis for their colonizing enterprise—whether they started as adventurers with the object of hoisting their country's flag in unoccupied territories, or whether they emigrated in order to try their fortunes in one of the already existing colonies. In either case they relied on the protection warranted by the power at home.

Seeley, in his great work on England's expansion, explains how the policy of Great Britain as manifested in the history of the last three centuries has, so to say, always been turned, like the Janus head, towards two directions, viz., the development of liberal institutions at home and the expansion of her boundaries abroad. The first point, he says, is represented by the history of the British Parliament; the second by that of Britain's colonial policy. He complains that most English historians

only keep the first point in view, and, consequently, see the facts in a distorted and oblique light. I believe Seeley is perfectly right in this remark. The revolution of the seventeenth century, the struggle between Whigs and Tories in the eighteenth and nineteenth, all the proceedings of English parliamentary life, fill the books of the historians, in addition to detailed descriptions of the continental wars; but it is only incidentally, by short parenthetical insertions and marginals, that the reader gets acquainted with the historical events and convulsions which took place beyond the seas in the new continents. And yet, the more essential part of the civilisatory development of our race is represented, not by the former, but by the latter. The deeds of Cromwell and of William the Third are certainly of trenchant importance for the history of England, and therefore for Europe. The issue of the struggle between absolutism and parliamentarism in England, was certainly a matter of immense significance for the history of the World. But, viewed as to its bearing upon the history

of the human race, it is certainly of still greater import, whether in place of New York, Chicago or San Franscisco, the wigwams of the redskins remained, and Australian negroes roamed where now Sydney and Melbourne stand, or whether European nations settled there, and also whether the new world belonged to the Latin race as represented by the Spaniards and the French, or to the Teutonic Anglo-Saxons.

If historical events are judged in the light shed over them by the results they have borne, the estimate of their importance is generally extremely different from what their contemporaries thought of them. Sir Walter Raleigh, whose head fell under the executioner's axe in front of the Tower of London, or William Penn who was the laughing-stock for the wits at the Courts of Charles and James the Second, have played an infinitely more important part in the real development of the human race than dozens of statesmen in wig and gown, who perhaps at the time scarcely considered worthy of any serious thought the two men mentioned, although they created per-

manent realities and thus left indelible footprints in the sands of time.

'When considering English history from this standpoint of realities, as contrasted with mere appearances, we find that, first and foremost,' the period from the revolution to the end of the Napoleonic wars (1688–1815) presents itself in quite a new light. This epoch is, so far as progress of home politics is concerned, comparatively barren and insignificant, but, considered in its bearing upon England's world politics, it is certainly the grandest and most important period the nation has ever seen. For it witnessed the laying of nearly all the corner-stones upon which the world power of the Great Britain of to-day has been built up. It is a period of 127 years, and fully 64 of them were spent in wars. During that time, England had to engage in seven great wars, viz., from 1689–1697, the wars connected with the Second Revolution; from 1702–1713 the Spanish succession war; from 1739–1748, the so-called Jenkin's Ear War, which, from 1740, coincided with the war of succession in Austro-

Hungary; from 1756–1763, the Seven Years' War, when Wolfe fought in Canada; from 1775–1783, the North American war of independence; from 1793–1802, the war against the French Republic and from 1803–1815 the Napoleonic wars, when the battles of Trafalgar and Waterloo were won.

Viewed in the usual—I might say almost the traditional—manner of regarding English history, most of those wars were apparently practically unnecessary. Carlyle often scoffs at the policy of the Georges who, he insinuated, had, induced by fears for Hanover and by goodness knows what other reasons, involved England in ever so many wars which she had no business to undertake. What, he asks, had England to do with Pragmatic Sanction, and for what British interests were the battles of Dettingen and Fontenoy fought? Even an historian of Macaulay's genius understood the intricate connections in the general combination of things so little, that he wrote: "In order that he (Frederick the Great) might be able to rob a neighbour whom he had promised to defend, black men had to fight

at the coast of Coromandel, and red men on the shores of the North American lakes." That is a conception of the importance accorded to specifically European events as compared with those of more universal character, which I cannot recognize. In point of fact, the very opposite is the case *i.e.*, the wars fought for the possession of the Coromandel coast and of the North American lakes were not by any means inferior in importance to the Central European wars of the eighteenth century, but on the contrary, the latter are only a diversion in the conquest of the world by the Anglo-Saxon race. The fate of nations and of hundreds of millions of members of all races is now much more intimately affected by the consequences directly arising out of those battles on the shores of the North American lakes or on the Ganges, than by the direct effects of the battles of Fontenoy, Leuthen and Austerlitz. As history proceeds, we find that the great historic importance of those last-named battles assumes a better defined shape in proportion, as their connection with those general civilis-

atory events in the work of populating the globe with white settlers becomes increasingly evidenced.

In 1584 Sir Walter Raleigh received from Queen Elizabeth the charter which led to the settlement of Virginia in North America, and in 1600 the East India Company obtained the charter which ultimately resulted in the British conquest of India. Those two dates are the starting points of that remarkable historical development, the upshot of which is represented by the present British Empire. That epoch is scarcely more than three centuries behind us; the history of the human race does not know of any more momentous and significant period. For it is that period which truly marks the spreading of our European civilisation over the trans-oceanic countries and more particularly the subjugation of our planet by the Low-German genius. This process has not been completed yet; we are still in the midst of it, and the question is whether it will be possible to carry it on to a definite end, or whether opposing powers will bring it prematurely to a stop. The answer to this

question will mainly depend upon whether the British Empire will consolidate and, therefore, continue to exist, or whether it will dissolve itself into its several component parts. Will the Colonies adopt the course taken by the United States of North America, or will they concentrate into a federal political unit, something like the German Empire?

This brings us again to the question, already discussed in these pages, whether the movement initiated by Mr. Chamberlain will be generally adopted by Great Britain or not. For the formation of a United Greater Britain is avowedly the goal and real purpose of Mr. Chamberlain's tariff reform. To constitute a united Empire, in the true sense of the word, two characteristic conditions are, under all circumstances, indispensable; it must be one territory, so far as the administration of customs is concerned (*i.e.*, the territory must not be divided by inter-State tariff barriers), and there must be one army organization common to all. On all other points the several units may exercise the fullest autonomy, but unless they solve

the said two problems upon a common basis, they cannot claim to be recognised by third parties as a united political organism, though they may still form a sort of national synarchy after the model of the ancient Greek States. Expressed in other words: to form a modern state, as we understand it, the *conditio sine qua non* is a Zollverein.

When about half a century ago Great Britain granted to her grown-up colonies full self-government, she committed what, from the imperialistic point of view, must be considered a very grave mistake in giving them also autonomy in regard to their tariff policy, instead of paying for them, as she does for the younger colonies and the protectorates, by means of State subventions, the extra expenditure which new countries naturally have to incur, without being able to provide for it exclusively out of inland revenue. From this cardinal defect, which, however, was already recognised as such by Disraeli, originates the diverging tendency shewn by the larger political units in their subsequent development. This tendency threatens to make a mockery of the British

Empire; indeed, it is scarcely possible to speak of an "Empire" if any part of it has the right to erect a tariff wall against the other.

Out of this impasse Mr. Chamberlain desires to extricate his race. The advantage of entering upon the coming centuries as a national giant Empire is obvious. It must result in the monopolisation, by the Anglo-Saxons collectively, of two-sevenths, and by the English themselves of two-eighths of the surface of the earth, for their own species. Another result will be that within measurable time the Anglo-Saxon race will form a political community of greater extent than any possible combination of foreign nations; nay, that perhaps the mere existence of foreign nations will solely depend on England's discretion; or that ultimately this planet will be inhabited exclusively by the English and their slaves. Such fantastic visions are already haunting the minds of some English novelists; for instance, in a novel dealing with a people on Mars, which, having solved the problem of flying, makes use of the invention for utterly destroying

all other nations, in order to take possession of the whole planet for themselves; or, in a novel like "The Final War," where England is represented as vanquishing the allied nations of Germany, France and Russia, and excluding them definitely from the dominion of countries beyond the seas.

It is, therefore, generally accepted that the union of the British Empire will confer great material advantages upon every single British subject wherever he may have been born; and thinking minds in New Zealand as in Canada, in South Africa as in Australia, in London as in Calcutta, are trying to solve the question how the obstacle of separate tariffs may be overcome. Mr. Chamberlain, who has a particular genius for scenting what ideas are happening to be in the air, discarded as we have seen, in 1903, for the sake of such an ideal, his former economic principles and from a disciple of the Manchester school developed into a tariff reformer In spite of very serious opposition in England herself, his task is greatly facilitated by the fact that, as a wheat grower, Canada is not a partner but a competitor of the United States, and,

consequently, does not feel the slightest inclination to be merged in, or incorporated with, that country. On the contrary, Canada wishes to take full advantage of her political union with Great Britain by securing unlimited markets for her products at the expense of the Yankees. Another fact in favour of Mr. Chamberlain's plans is that Australia, having found herself face to face with the Medusa head of the "yellow peril," has been horror-struck by it, and sees her sole salvation in a close organic union of the British Empire, which would be powerful enough for an efficient defence against the Japanese and Chinese. In South Africa Mr. Chamberlain's plans are favoured by the English population there, who are afraid of the Africanderdom, in case the Mother Country should let them follow their own course. The three great daughter nations are, therefore, just now more imperialistic than the easy-going Mother Country, and that is another factor in favour of Mr. Chamberlain's policy.

It remains, however, to be seen whether the said factors are strong enough to over-

come the opposing economic interests. The difficulty is that England has, as far as tariffs are concerned, no advantages to offer to her Colonies. Prussia in the last century was able to compel the other German States, one after another, to join the Zollverein, because she was in a position to offer them free import over her own boundaries, as an equivalent for abolishing their customs duties. Great Britain practically does not levy any customs duties, and, consequently, is not in a position to abolish them. As we have seen, Mr. Chamberlain intends to raise tariff barriers round Great Britain mainly for the purpose of letting them down to the Colonies. But as the colonial exports consist chiefly of foodstuffs and raw material, he finds himself in the ticklish position of having to recommend his countrymen to tax their own food, in order to give the Colonies preferential treatment. Upon that point the battle is now raging all along the line.

I need not explain here the details of Mr. Chamberlain's policy, because they have not yet been submitted in a definite form. His opinion is, that small import duties on cereals

and meat will be sufficient to secure to the Colonies the English markets for all they can produce. In consideration of that advantage the Colonies, on their part, are to reduce their own protective import duties on all British goods sufficiently, to give them a real preference against foreign countries. It is, however, understood that this period of preferential tariffs shall only represent the transition to unlimited free trade within the British Empire with protection against the outside world. Trade between London and Sydney, Montreal and Capetown, as well as between Montreal and Capetown, etc., is to be entirely free, whilst the whole British Empire is to be protected against New York, Hamburg, Odessa, and Marseilles, etc. It is a great and bold project, which, if carried into practice would vastly determine the future development of international trade.

One-fourth of the area of the earth would, as a consequence, be more or less eliminated from commerce between the nations. The idea is, that Great Britain should remain, as before, the principal industrial workshop, while the other parts of the Empire should

produce foodstuffs and raw materials, according to their geographical position and natural conditions. I have stated above, that Great Britain possesses within herself all the geographical conditions for a complete economic autarchy. As a matter of fact, she is able to produce all the necessaries required by modern civilized man. Chamberlain and his followers believe that the economic development of the British Colonies will be considerably accelerated, as soon as having secured the British market by means of preferential tariffs they find a practical inducement for increasing their production. Millions of acres in Canada, which are now lying idle, will be brought under cultivation, and wide tracts of pasture will be opened for sheep and cattle-farming in South Africa or Australia, as soon as the farmer sees a chance of selling all the foodstuffs, he is able to produce. The British market is, as we have seen, the best on earth for such articles, and if it should in the first line be reserved for the colonies, they would indeed be capable of unlimited development. As a counter-effect, their purchasing power would thus

more and more increase, so that, on their part, they would be able to buy to a greater extent the products of British industry. In that manner a healthy trade within the boundaries of the British Empire is to be initiated, making it practically independent of the rest of the world.

Such a Zollverein (customs union) is further intended to form, as it did in Prussia, the basis for several other organisations common to all the members of the Imperial entity. To commence with, it is to be the starting point for a common army organization. At present it is mainly the Mother Country which bears the burden, as well as the cost of defending British interests. British regiments protected, during the Boer war, the British in South Africa from falling under the predominance of the Dutch; Great Britain's navy protects Australia against being overrun by the Mongolians, and guarantees Canada the possession of her vast territories against the jingoism of the United States. It is true that in the time of England's need during the last war, the Colonies jumped into the breach; from

all sides volunteers hurried up to fight the battles of the Mother Country, and the capture of Pretoria and the relief of Mafeking were celebrated as national triumphs in Melbourne and Quebec just as enthusiastically as in London and Glasgow. But the assistance so tendered was spontaneous, and, moreover, it was England who had to pay for everything.

What at that time was sporadically done is, in future, to be brought under a definite system and into legal form, *i.e.*, an Imperial army and an Imperial navy are the second of the great ideals in the Imperialistic movement. This ideal, however, can only take practical shape, if by means of a tariff reform the lands across the seas really acquire the prosperity foreseen for them by Mr. Chamberlain and his friends. Not before then will they be able regularly to contribute to the cost of maintaining the Empire, and that will lead to another consequence.

That a parliament should exercise the power of the purse is an idea with which the Anglo-Saxon mind is indelibly imbued. That

anybody should pay money without having a voice in the spending of it, is utterly incompatible with Anglo-Saxon ideas. If, therefore, in course of time a great Imperial British defence force should come into existence, it goes without saying that there must also be an Imperial Parliament to control it. Its seat would naturally be London, and the army and navy, as well as the tariff policy, would be under its direction. It might be objected that the great distances are fatal to such a plan. But that objection is ridiculous. From Quebec to London is nowadays scarcely further than from Inverness to London at the time of Cromwell, and the few weeks to be spent in travelling from Australasia will be an agreeable way of enjoying the parliamentary vacations of that time. The oceans are the natural highways of this future maritime empire, destined to encircle the earth.

If to the said institutions a Supreme Court of Appeal in London is added for law cases between inhabitants of different parts of the empire, all practical requirements of political unity are fulfilled, and, as to the rest, every

single country may practise unlimited autonomy.

The idea of such a giant Empire is so overwhelming, that a foreigner scarcely understands the opposition encountered in England by Mr. Chamberlain in putting his policy into execution. At the bottom of this opposition is, no doubt, the instinctive antipathy of the Anglo-Saxon mind against any State interference in matters of an economic character. People here shudder at the mere idea of raising a tariff wall round the British Isles. For the argument of a possible small increase in the price of foodstuffs, which, moreover, would only be temporary until the productive power of the colonies is fully developed, can scarcely be taken seriously. I really do not understand how the opposing statesmen—the Duke of Devonshire, Lord Rosebery, Sir Edward Grey, of whose Imperial patriotism not the slightest doubt can be entertained—imagine the future development of their race to be accomplished. The best that might be built up in times to come on the basis of England's present fiscal policy is a very loose federation

of completely incoherent British States. But in that case there always remains the danger that at any time circumstances may arise, in which one or the other of the colonies may deem it advantageous to enter into a fiscal union with foreign countries (for instance, Canada with the United States), and would thus not only be lost to the British Empire, but might even be converted into an enemy.

In point of fact, I do not take such a turn of events into serious consideration. It is, indeed, just possible that the Chamberlainite policy should be defeated at the next election, but its advantages for the English race in general, and for Great Britain in particular, are so obvious that sooner or later the nation will no doubt adopt it. And if the Anglo-Saxon world firmly resolves organically to consolidate itself over this planet into a great federal state, it is difficult to see what power could prevent it from so doing. Perchance the German Empire, wedged in, as it is, between France and Russia, and by nature a Continental Power disinclined to take the offensive? Or the United States of North America, who, while

themselves proud of belonging to the English race, find sufficient scope for their political and economic ambitions in monopolising South America? A much more likely event would be that some day the North Americans would join and form a confederation with the Empire of Greater Britain! Or Russia, trying in vain to find access to the open sea, and still having before her all the great revolutions through which the western nations had to pass? In my opinion, there is from outside no danger for the consolidation of the British Empire.

It is true that within the English national life we see, shooting up like pathogenous germs, strong symptoms of growing national decline. That a nation, while aspiring more and more to monopolise the best lands of the earth, should lack the power of organisation necessary to serve as a basis for building up the complicated machinery of a modern army, is certainly ominous. Even more so is the fact that obviously the delight people used to take in honest work is more and more disappearing. In both these points the English, as a nation, are inferior to the

Germans; and in those English circles which are most gifted with wise foresight, it is fully understood that Germany is England's real rival for supremacy among the nations of the world.

But so long as politics are going on in Europe as they do now, the German Empire cannot imperil Britain's policy of expansion. The British Empire being a naval power can only be vanquished by superior navies. As long as Germany has to beware of powerful neighbours on her eastern, as well as on her western, boundary, Great Britain will always be able to take precedence of her in point of maritime power. The question, therefore, arises, whether German statecraft will be able to create a European situation, which, while eliminating all the elements antagonistic to a combination of the Continental Powers, induces them to stand up in a closed phalanx for a common world-policy.

Against the threatened realisation of an Anglo-Saxon Confederation Europe will ultimately have no remedy, but to form a fiscal union of its own. If the world across the seas should consolidate itself under England's

hegemony, there can be nothing but the creation of a United States of Europe to preserve for the old world its supremacy. And a "United Europe" would be able, through all the centuries to come, to retain the leadership of humanity.

The only power able to carry through such a combination would be Germany, and, therefore, German statecraft ought to make that its practical goal. In the Triple Alliance, such as it has been up to now, there existed the natural nucleus for such a confederacy of states. The next task would be to further develop it into a Central European Zollverein, and then to induce France and Russia to join it. I am far from wishing to conclude this description of the English world with fantastic dreams of the future. But, for all that, I consider myself entitled to state that, if the Anglo-Saxon world should attain its political and fiscal unification, the only salvation for the rest of the white nations would be the creation of such a European confederacy starting with a Zollverein.

Up to now, however, the world is not yet

ripe for such ultimate extreme opposites. Neither party has yet arrived at that point of its course where they must meet in deadly combat; the two separate roads are still winding along their course, apparently without correlations, and the point where the impact must take place is hidden to the crowds.

As things are to-day, Germany and England may still learn a great deal from each other. Great Britain is for us the classical model to teach us how to develop free individuality, and, founded upon that basis, to create new communities across the seas. Germany is for England the model of all public and state organisation, especially as regards the army, and for schools. However great the number of points of friction between the two great Teutonic powers may be, the foundations of their respective civilizations are essentially the same; nor is it purely accidental, that at the time of the great historical crises during the last three centuries they have always stood shoulder to shoulder. The great turning point in the general history of humanity will have

arrived, when those two nations for the first time fight against each other.

For the time being, the process of Anglicising the trans-maritime world proceeds without hindrance on all sides. English is more and more becoming the universal language, not only in the Anglo-Saxon countries —whether they be under the Union Jack or the Stars and Stripes—but also on the coasts of most other continents. Just as the English pound sterling is the monetary unit in international trade, so English words first meet the traveller wherever he puts his foot ashore. "The world is rapidly becoming English," Sir Charles Dilke said already a generation ago. And that is so, indeed, to a degree which is of terrible significance for all other nations. In 1665 there were, in all, only five million English-speaking people in the world; and 1800, scarcely more than nine million; to-day we count about 134 million members of the Anglo-Saxon race alone, quite apart from the uncounted number of coloured people, who speak some sort of more or less broken English.

The oceans, more especially, are more

and more falling under the sway of the Anglo-Saxon race. The Atlantic assumes from year to year, in a more pronounced manner, the character of an Anglo-American sea; while the Indian Ocean is practically almost a British inland sea. On the Pacific the Japanese are just now doing the business of the two English-speaking nations by sinking successively the ships of the Russian navy, and thus assisting in securing the monopoly of the Anglo-American fleets. England now holds the roads to the Far East through the Suez Canal and round the Cape, while the United States will rule the highway now being constructed through the Panama Canal. All the possessions of other nations in those parts of the world are, therefore, only territories enclosed within countries ruled by foreigners.

But, as we have seen, conquest by force of arms plays a very subordinate part in the British Empire. Its real historical importance lies in the spreading of Anglo-Saxon civilisation over our planet. English autonomy, with her civil liberties and personal rights, follows the British flag. It is every-

where the same sight, whether we look at it in the Far West of the States, or on Lake Ontario, in Canada, on the banks of the Murray, or on the tablelands of Mashonaland—this race sticks firmly to its national characteristics. And everywhere the British settler introduces the typical features of English national life. Into all countries he carries his teapot and his marmalades, his football, his cricket-ball and his lawn-tennis nets. Whether we are on Turnham Green or in Umtali, in San Francisco or in Melbourne, the scenes of English national life everywhere repeat themselves with almost insipid uniformity.

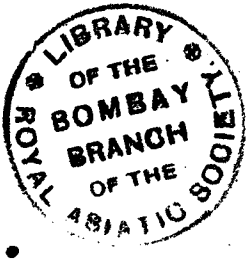
However international, therefore, this world-encircling Empire may be in its composition, and especially in its methods of initiation, it is nevertheless national-English to the core; before all, it is everywhere a community of citizens.

Great Britain's world policy is, therefore, in the first line, a work of economic civilization. It is in this aspect, that the greatness of this race is principally apparent. He who only knows the Britons in Europe, and

compares them with other nations from the European point of view, does not do them full justice. To understand what Great Britain has done for humanity, a man ought to wander through the forests of British Columbia and the goldfields of South Africa, to visit the banks of the Ganges and the cataracts of the Nile. We are right in trying to comprehend the genius of ancient Rome by studying the ruins of her grandiose works, such as speak to us across the centuries from the Forum Romanum, the Limes Romanus, the Via Appia, and others. But how small appears all the Romans did, when compared with the work done by the Anglo-Saxon race on this earth! That North America and Australia, South Africa and New Zealand, offer to-day homesteads to the white races of Europe, is mainly due to the bold enterprise and the hard work of the English.

Whatever stand we may take with reference to this great historical creation when looking at it from the point of view of our own national interests, we cannot, in justice and fairness, regard it otherwise than full of the deepest admiration. British national

pride as shown by individuals is often stupid and offensive to the feelings of foreigners. But if ever pride was justified in any people known to history, it is justified in the English. For, here it is based, not on mere sentiment and imagination, but on the real work of a colonial policy, the result of which stands now before us as the most brilliant manifestation of the creative and colonising genius of the European race.



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